DOUBLE ISSUE

DEC. 23 / DEC. 30, 2019

PERSON *of the* YEAR

TIME

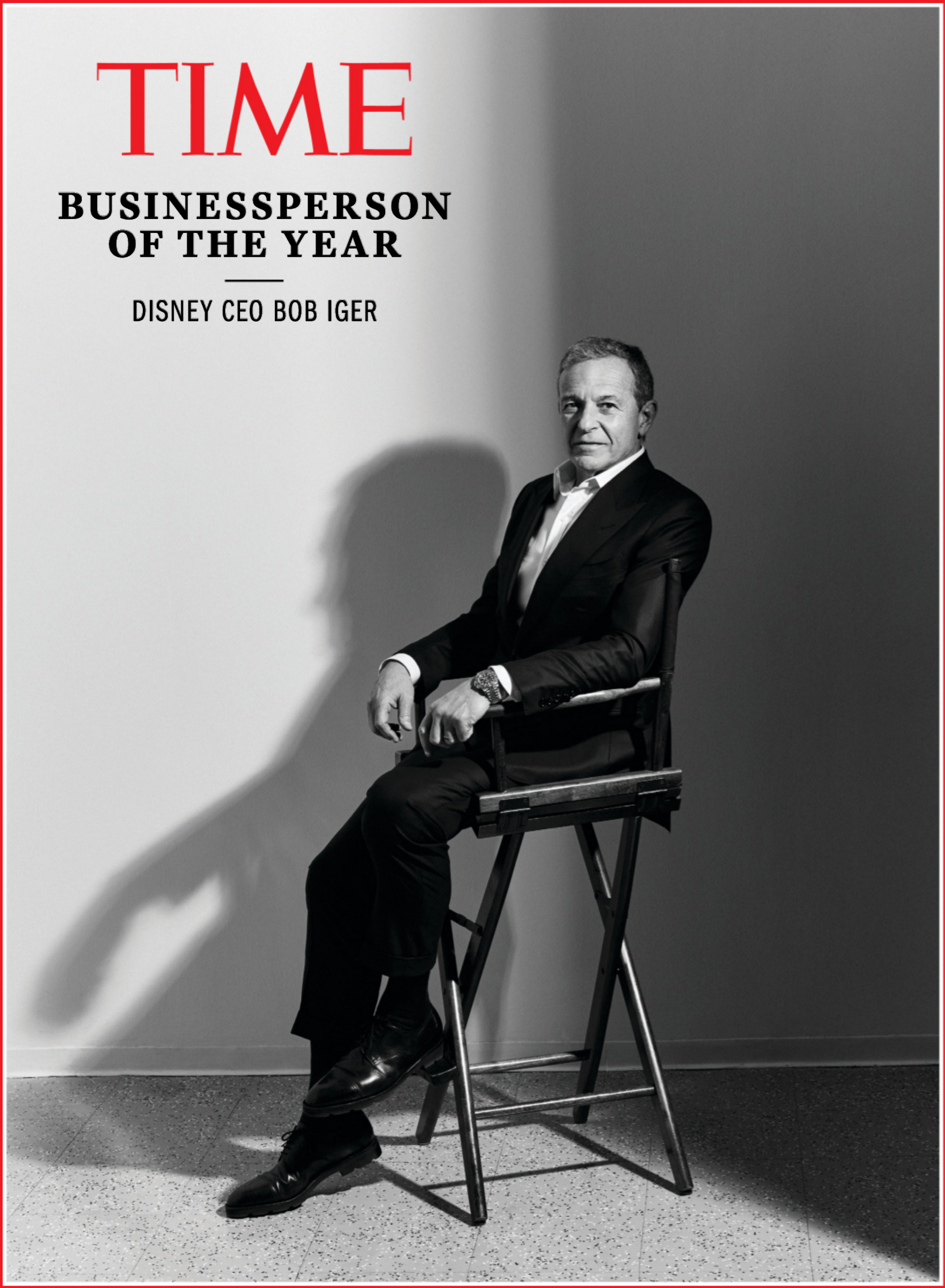
GRETA THUNBERG

THE POWER OF YOUTH

TIME

BUSINESSPERSON OF THE YEAR

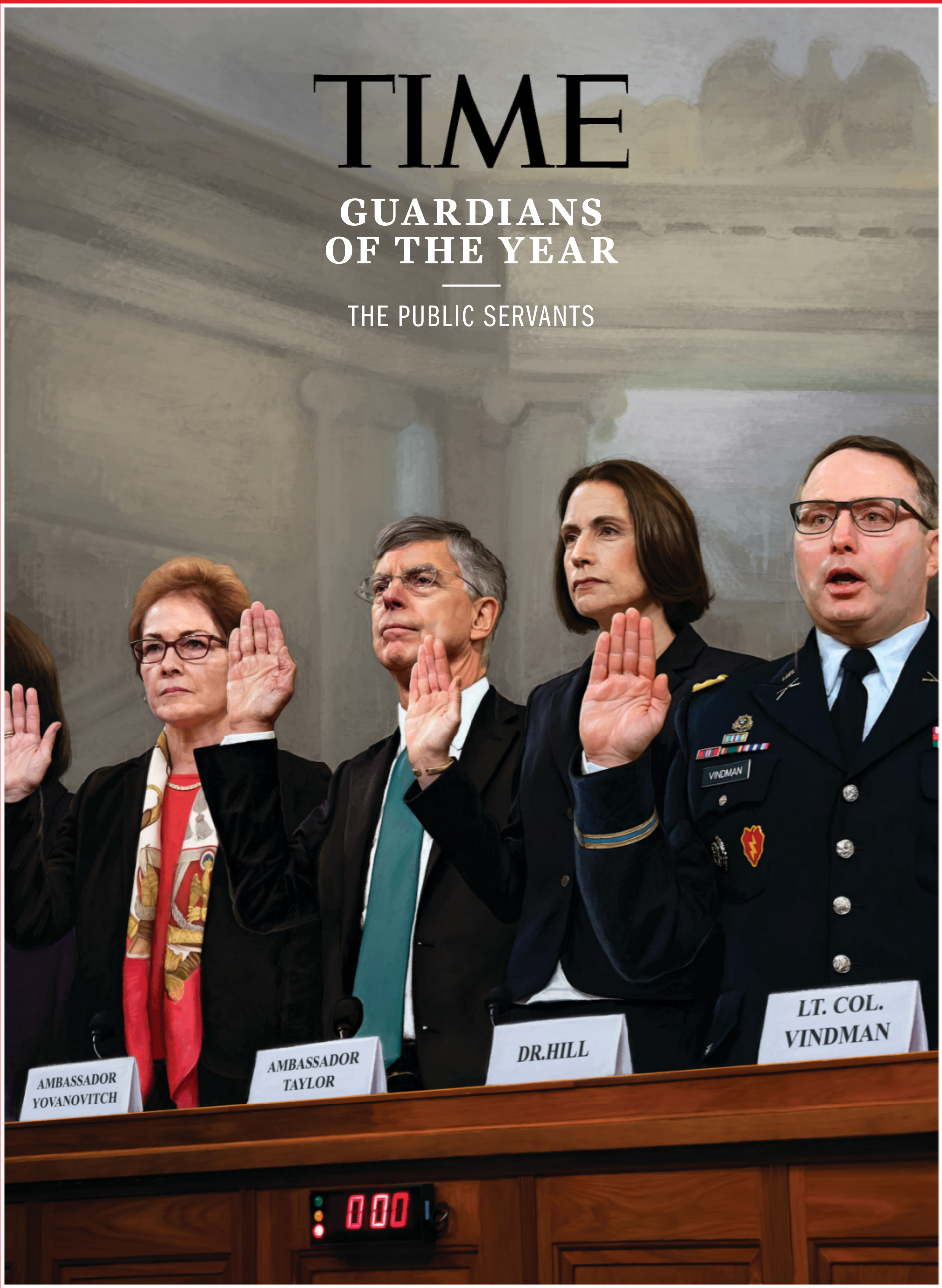
DISNEY CEO BOB IGER



TIME

GUARDIANS OF THE YEAR

THE PUBLIC SERVANTS



TIME

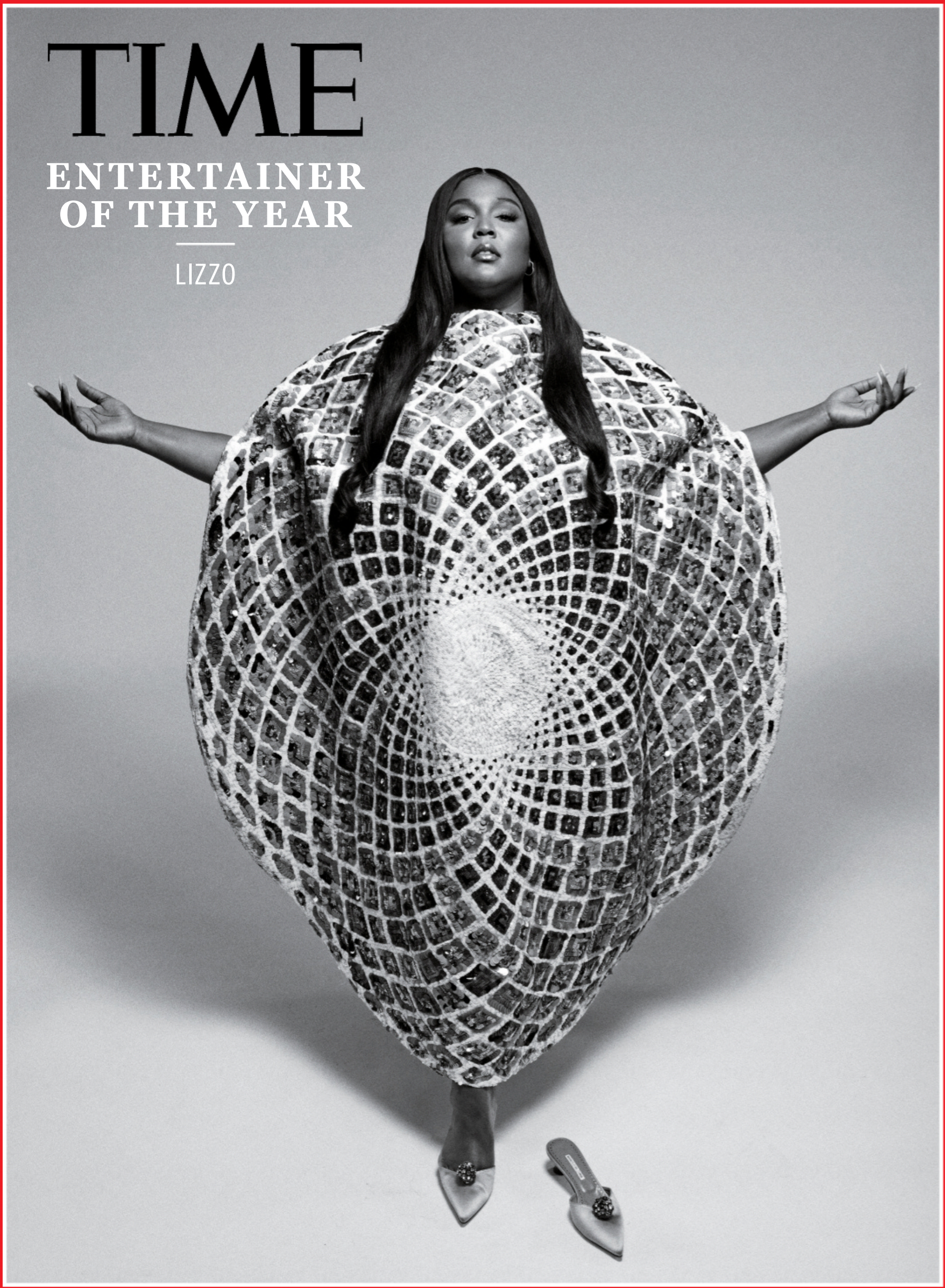
ATHLETE OF THE YEAR

THE U.S. WOMEN'S SOCCER TEAM

TIME

ENTERTAINER OF THE YEAR

LIZZO



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ANDY FOUGHT FOR A SHOT THEN A TITLE

On June 1st, 2019 Andy Ruiz Jr. shocked the world
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But before he could step in the ring, Andy had to fight another match first –
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That's why we salute Andy Ruiz Jr. as our Shot Taker of the Year.

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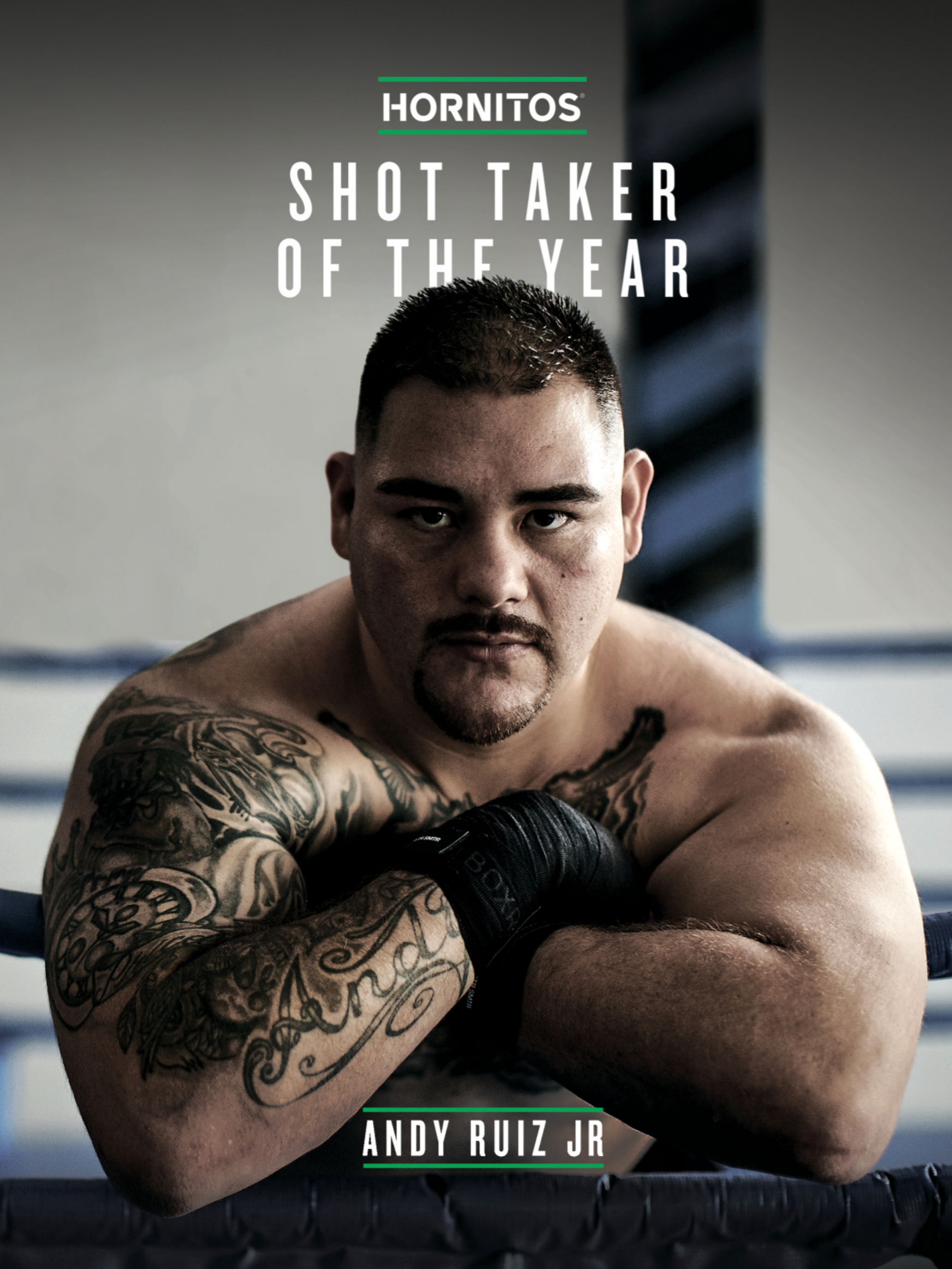
SHOT TAKER OF THE YEAR



ANDY RUIZ JR

• HERE'S TO •

THE SHOT TAKERS

THE RULE BREAKERS

THE ORIGINATORS

THE ALL NIGHTERS

THE CREATORS

THE CHASERS

THE HUSTLERS

THE FOUNDERS

THE INNOVATORS

THE MOVERS

THE SHAKERS

THE MAKERS

THE INITIATORS

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TIME
VOL. 194, NOS. 27–28 | 2019

Greta Thunberg at a climate march in Montreal on Sept. 27

PERSON OF THE YEAR

THE CHOICE *By Edward Felsenthal 48*

THE CONSCIENCE *By Charlotte Alter, Suyin Haynes and Justin Worland 50*

ERIC DEMERS—POLARIS

“The ultimate prize will be when we defeat you, ~~cancer~~”

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THE YEAR IN . . .

14 COVERS Readers react to our biggest stories of the year

17 QUOTES Statements of the year

22 THINGS Inanimate objects that made news

24 GUARDIANS Journalists who continue to fight the abuse of truth

27 THEN + NOW How past Persons of the Year are faring

30 FIRSTS + LASTS Most talked-about milestones

34 HEROES Those who went above and beyond

41 LANGUAGE The lexicon of 2019

PORTRAITS OF INFLUENCE

106 Six leaders who shaped the world this year

PHOTOS OF THE YEAR

118 Defining images of 2019

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by
Evgenia Arbugaeva for TIME

GUARDIANS
OF THE YEAR:
Illustration by
Jason Seiler for TIME

ATHLETE
OF THE YEAR:
Photograph by
Cait Oppermann for TIME

BUSINESSPERSON
OF THE YEAR:
Photograph by
Peter Hapak for TIME

ENTERTAINER
OF THE YEAR:
Photograph by
Paola Kudacki for TIME

GUARDIANS OF THE YEAR

The Public Servants | 74

The public servants who placed duty ahead of politics, exposing the evidence that prompted the impeachment of a President, while defending America's tradition of dissent

By Massimo Calabresi, Vera Bergengruen and Simon Shuster

ATHLETE OF THE YEAR

The U.S. Women's Soccer Team | 92

The players rallied around a cause bigger than themselves and, after winning another World Cup, unapologetically celebrated their power on and off the field

By Sean Gregory

BUSINESSPERSON OF THE YEAR

Bob Iger | 98

In a year when public sentiment turned against the titans of business, media and tech, Disney CEO Bob Iger pushed his company further in all three areas—while continuing to produce beloved blockbusters

By Belinda Luscombe

ENTERTAINER OF THE YEAR

Lizzo | 102

Chart-topping hits. Dazzling visuals. Memeable moments. Lizzo became the defining star of 2019 not only for the music she makes but also for what she represents: a radical path to self-love

By Samantha Irby

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AMERICA'S AUTO DEALERS: GIVING BACK, MOVING FORWARD

THEIR SUCCESS AND MOMENTUM

Whether we realize it or not, automobile dealers are everyday heroes of their communities. They help drive the US economy from all angles. They are a major engine of job creation, employ millions of people, and account for billions in taxes that fund roads, schools, hospitals, and health insurance. But the real story goes much deeper.

Beyond being a major engine of the US economy, they're also one of the greatest sources of corporate social good in the country. They give millions of dollars to local causes, launch charities, host fundraisers at their dealerships, and improve their communities through outreach by supporting individuals and other charitable organizations.

WHO BENEFITS

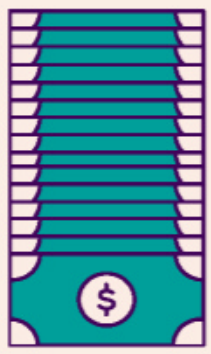
One example of dealers' generosity and community-mindedness is the support they provide employees in times of crisis. To date, auto dealerships have raised $3 million in the past 3 years for the National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA) emergency relief fund. This fund supports car and truck dealership employees who have been impacted by natural disasters, including hurricanes Florence and Michael, the California wildfires and Texas floods. With community help, employees can get back to their day-to-day lives before insurance providers can step in — and sometimes even before ATMs are up and running.

This kind of generosity and community focus may be exceptional, but it's not the exception. Auto dealers give back every day in countless ways, whether volunteering their time, helping raise money for charity, or hosting service events at their dealerships. To recognize the countless ways auto dealers impact those around them, TIME has awarded its coveted Dealer of the Year award for over five decades.

1.14 MILLION
workers employed by the nation's car dealerships*

$3 MILLION
raised by NADA for emergency relief fund*

$88.8 BILLION
sales taxes paid to state and local governments*



$72,800
average employee annual earnings

$66.6 BILLION
in payroll*

*National Automobile Dealers Association data, 2018

DEALER OF THE YEAR

Being named the TIME Dealer of the Year is one of the most prestigious honors bestowed upon any individual in the industry. Last year's winner, for example, was John Alfirevich, who contributed more than $3 million to 100 charities across his Chicago area hometown in 2018 alone.

It is only fitting, then, that Ally Financial funds a grant for the dealers to donate to a cause of their choice each year as part of their award. 2016 Dealer of the Year Kitty Van Bortel chose to donate her $11,000 grant from the award to her local Breast Care Coalition as the recipient of the fund, a cause she cares deeply about as a nine-year survivor of breast cancer herself.

Photo courtesy of Ron Bland

Many dealers like Kitty approach corporate impact very personally. They are driven by a passion to be successful in their businesses, and that success is reflected in their passion to promote greater good in their communities and for the causes they care about. In recognizing this passion to do good, TIME celebrates what's great about the industry — the 2020 Dealer of the Year nominees.

TIME DEALER OF THE YEAR IN PARTNERSHIP WITH ally

NADA

name a lineup with more horsepower. we'll wait.

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Ed Babcock
Tommy Baker
Winstead Paine (W.P.) Bone, III
Steve Brimhall
Steve Brown
Jim Buzzetta
Donald Cavenaugh
Colleen Chapleski
Raymond Ciccolo
Jim Coleman
David Cuene
Terry D'Arcy
David Daunhauer
Jacqueline De Luz
George (Chip) Doetsch, III
John Ernst
William Farrell
Fletcher Flower
Paul Gaudet Sr.
Stacey Gillman
A. William Golling, III
Jeff Haraden
Eric Henricksen
David Kelleher
Steve Klein
Doug Knust
Christian Kostelecky
Lawrence Kull
Ken Marks
Walt Massey
Greg Maurer
Thomas Miller
Susan Moffitt
Steve Olliges
Diana Pfeiffer
Mark Porter
Dan Roesch
Paul Rusnak
William Strickland
Brad Strong
Eric Stuteville
Howard Tenenbaum
Wally Thornhill
Natalie Tindol
Brian Tyrrell
Santosh Viswanathan
Ronnie Watkins
Rich Willis
Greg Wills

Congratulations to each of this year's nominees for the 2020 TIME Dealer of the Year Award. Your dedication to doing it right, and exceptional leadership, is evident in both your dealership and community. Thank you for all you do from all of us at Ally.

ally
do it right.

TIME
DEALER OF THE YEAR
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A NEW ERA

PERSON OF THE YEAR STARTED ON A WHIM. AT the end of 1927, the editors realized they had made it through the year without putting the 25-year-old aviator Charles Lindbergh on the cover to commemorate his historic solo flight that May across the Atlantic. The solution was to make him "Man of the Year," launching what has become one of the most enduring franchises in journalism. Lindbergh was not only the first but until now also the youngest individual to be named TIME Person of the Year.

This year we name 16-year-old Greta Thunberg, who—via seemingly every mode of transportation except Lindbergh's—journeyed around the globe while leading a movement to protect it. Of course, the power of youth is hardly a new theme: in 1966, TIME chose an entire generation, people under 25, as Person of the Year. "In the closing third of the 20th century, that generation looms larger than all the exponential promises of science or technology: it will soon be the majority in charge," the editors wrote.

For our team, a joy of working on Person of the Year is the opportunity to look at the year through the prism of the people who shaped it. The formal process begins in early fall with a meeting where staff from all over the world make recommendations. We then launch numerous projects that could become the choice, led by teams of reporters and editors who themselves don't know the choice until the end.

FINISHING TOUCHES

In the Person of the Year bunker in our New York office, the team works on this year's choice

***TIME* HAS BEEN** on our own journey this year, setting up as an independent company with supportive new owners, Marc and Lynne Benioff; adding new franchises and events; growing our team; and deepening the ambition of our coverage.

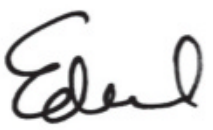
We are also expanding Person of the Year to reflect the full range of subjects that TIME covers. For the first time, we're choosing the most influential person in a range of fields: Bob Iger, the meticulous CEO who is rewriting Disney's story with blockbuster deals, is our Businessperson of the Year. The U.S. women's soccer team, who inspired millions with their play on the field and their persistence off of it, is the 2019 Athlete of the Year. And our Entertainer of the Year is the irrepressible performer Lizzo, nominated for eight Grammys this year, whose message of positivity captured the culture.

There is one other category this year that is special to us at TIME. Last year for Person of the Year, we chose "The Guardians," four journalists and one news organization who took great risks in pursuit of greater truths, standing up for free expression and democratic values. This year, we are recognizing a different group of Guardians, who took to the stand and risked their careers in the defense of the rule of law. That project, led by TIME's Massimo Calabresi and Vera Bergengruen in Washington and Simon Shuster reporting from Kyiv, provides one of the most detailed accounts to date of the nonpartisan public servants who exposed the evidence that prompted the impeachment of a President.

Our reporting on Greta Thunberg this year actually kicked off well before we had begun to think about Person of the Year, when Suyin Haynes journeyed with her over 1,200 miles by train for a profile in our Next Generation Leaders series. For this project, Suyin rode with Thunberg again as she headed to the Madrid conference on climate change. "Compared to when I traveled with her across Europe in the spring," says Suyin, it was "a complete frenzy." The resulting story, written by Suyin, Justin Worland and Charlotte Alter and edited by Haley Sweetland Edwards, is a remarkable portrait of what influence looks like in 2019.

"Despite the dire urgency of her message, there is optimism at the heart of this year's choice," says executive editor Ben Goldberger, who oversees Person of the Year. "To a generation let down by traditional power structures, Thunberg's selection shows that you don't need to be part of them to shape history."

Perhaps it's fitting that in his final years, Lindbergh became an environmentalist. "If I had to choose," he said, "I would rather have birds than airplanes."



Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
@EFELSENTHAL

From army vet to physicist
Josh learned how on YouTube. What will you learn?
"After I got back from my third deployment in Iraq in 2011, I got a job as a janitor at a high school. One day in the library I started reading *A Brief History of Time* by Stephen Hawking. I was hooked. I realized then that I wanted to be a physicist. But I only had a 10th grade math education. So I taught myself trigonometry and calculus by watching videos on YouTube. If I didn't understand something, I'd pause the video and find other videos explaining it until I figured out what I was missing.
I learned enough math to get into Radford University and I graduated with honors! I'm now in my dream job as a scientist, studying the stars every day. I can't ever see myself doing anything else. It's like reaching for the unattainable and actually grabbing it."
Watch Josh's story: youtube.com/JoshLearnedHow
YouTube

Waking Up a Sleeping Town

New vision for social governance energizes communities

By Wang Hairong

Cheng Shukun enjoys working for the Baidu Group, a leading technology company renowned for creating the most popular Chinese search engine. It was the commuting to work that he used to hate.

Cheng lives in Huilongguan on Beijing's northern outskirts and driving to work to the busy tech hub was a nightmare. Then a new project kicked in.

An over 6-km bicycle road, the first of its kind in the capital, came up in May, connecting Huilongguan and the Shangdi business area. It has two green lanes with an orange one in the middle serving as a tidal lane.

"It used to take me an hour to drive to work, but now I spend only half an hour to cycle there," a beaming Cheng said. "It's so convenient!"

About 11,600 people, or 13.8 percent of Huilongguan's working population, commute between Huilongguan and Shangdi, and the new road is a blessing for many.

Improved infrastructure

Improving infrastructure in communities as per residents' requirements is part of the three-year Huitian Plan formulated in 2018

WANG HAIRONG

Cyclists ride on the bicycle-only road that connects the Huilongguan residential neighborhood and the Shangdi business area in north Beijing on November 15

by the Beijing Municipal Government and the Changping District Government that administer the area. Huitian, an about 63-square-km area, consists of two large residential neighborhoods, Tiantongyuan in northeast Beijing and Huilongguan in the northwest. In the late 1990s, they began to be developed from rural into urban residential areas to provide affordable housing for city dwellers.

With accelerated urbanization and the rapid development of the surrounding hi-tech areas, the population of Huitian soared. By the end of 2017, it had about 860,000 permanent residents. The denser population triggered problems like traffic congestion and lack of public service facilities like schools, hospitals and cultural and sports facilities.

To develop the area, the local government focused on the administration of Huitian so that it would serve as a governance model for large communities.

The Huitian Plan brings investment of about 20 billion yuan ($2.85 billion) to be used in three years to upgrade transportation, medical, educational, cultural and sports facilities and senior care institutions.

In addition to the bicycle-only road, bridges have been renovated, traffic hubs built and public transport capacity expanded. Lack of affordable pre-school education services and schools to provide compulsory education was a major problem. In China education is compulsory and free for generally nine years. To provide their children with better education, some parents had to leave their bigger apartments in Huitian and move into cramped ones in other districts with better school facilities. To meet the need, the Huitian Plan is building 15 new schools.

Projects to expand medical services as well as the capacity of water supply, sewage treatment and flood prevention have also been carried out.

The Huilongguan Sport and Cultural Park has benefited from the sprucing up. Greened with a variety of trees, it is today a much-sought-after destination with its decorative structures and sports facilities. Joggers run along its winding green synthetic track, dancers spin and swirl on a circular terrace surrounded by trees, and grandmothers trail after their toddling grandchildren.

Though the autumn chill has set in with strong winds that have swept away much of the fall foliage, a 71-year-old regular at the park, affectionately called Uncle Yao, has turned up to play the saxophone as usual. He is accompanied by several other seniors playing either the saxophone or the flute, forming a mini orchestra of their own, a regular sight in many Chinese parks and public spaces.

"The park looks much prettier than before," said Yao, who moved into the neighborhood from downtown Beijing in 2003.

A partnership act

The Huitian Plan also promotes a five-party co-governance model for communities. The five parties are the residents' committee, the homeowners' association, the property management company, social organizations, and the community branch of the Communist Party of China (CPC), which plays a leading role.

A residents' committee is a community-level self-governance body, which acts as a bridge between a sub-district government and residents. It handles affairs such as resolving disputes, maintaining safety and providing public services. Members of a homeowners' association are property owners who are elected. In Hualongyuanbeili Community in Huilongguan, the five parties hold joint monthly meetings to discuss the problems that crop up after collecting residents' opinions on them.

Wang Cuijuan, Secretary of the CPC Branch and head of the Residents' Committee of Hualongyuanbeili, tells how problems are addressed in her community, a cluster of 3,300 permanent residents. For instance, when the old security system for entering the buildings broke down, a five-party meeting was held to discuss how to replace it. After mutual agreement, a modern system was purchased with the community's revenue from leasing parking spaces and advertisement space.

Social participation

The social governance model was highlighted at a key leadership meeting in October. The Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee focused on advancing the modernization of China's governance system and capability, underlining the importance of meeting people's rising aspiration for a better life. The social governance system, the meeting agreed, should be based on collaboration, participation and common interests.

Social participation plays a significant role in Huitian's community activities.

In a cultural activity room, a dozen or so elderly women are practicing a traditional dance that requires strapping a small drum to the waist and tapping it in time with the music. The teacher is a retiree volunteer, Kang Lanxiang. The team often performs for the public during festivals. Kang said teaching the dance makes her retired life more fulfilling. There are five such volunteer art teams in the community, with more than 100 volunteer performers.

The district government encourages social organizations and private enterprises to provide social services to meet the diverse needs of residents and buys services from them. Last year, a social service center was established in Huitian to incubate non-profit organizations and private enterprises.

WEI YAO

A children's activity room in Hualongyuanbeili Community, Beijing's Changping District, on November 19

"In the future, social enterprises will play an increasingly important role in solving problems in Huitian, bringing new changes in governance," Zhang Duo, head of the service center, said.

These changes are a delight for residents like Zuo Zhaohui. Zuo, who has lived in Huilongguan for 18 years, said the Huitian Plan has boosted his confidence and sense of belonging to the neighborhood. In the past, he shied away from telling people that he lived there for fear that they would look down on him for living in a sleepy town with few amenities.

"Huilongguan used to be a sleeping town, but now it has awakened," he said. ■

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Comments to yanwei@bjreview.com

2019 THE YEAR IN

COVERS

1. *'If, instead of all the unsolicited advice, faux concern and nosy questions I fielded in my 30s, I could have read this @szacharek essay, it would have been a real gift.'*

REBECCA KEEGAN, *Hollywood Reporter* editor, on Stephanie Zacharek's Jan. 14 essay "Why I'm Glad I Didn't Have Kids," part of a series on fertility

2. *'I have deleted my Facebook account. The benefit was hardly worth the burden of the loss of my privacy.'*

TROY ANDERSON, Reno, Nev., on the Jan. 28 story about Facebook by one of its early investors, Roger McNamee

3. *'I will pass this copy to my grandchildren. There are lessons to be learned.'*

BARBARA COLLETT, Gainesville, Fla., on Haley Sweetland Edwards' Feb. 4–11 special report on global migration

4. *'So happy to be able to just show my friends an article for them to understand what "Tibet" is and what is happening to us Tibetans.'*

DORJEE LHAMO, Germany, on Charlie Campbell's March 18 profile of the Dalai Lama

5. *'TIME's artist forgot to place a banana peel under Trump's foot.'*

JAMES F. FRYER, Hayward, Calif., on Tim O'Brien's cover illustration for the April 8 story about special counsel Robert Mueller's report

6. *'My daughter is presenting this article to her 5th grade class.'*

@DARBYDOUG, on Twitter, about Sean Gregory's June 3–10 story on U.S. soccer star Alex Morgan and her team's fight for equal pay; they won the Women's World Cup a month later

7. *'The solutions will probably require changes in our culture and society which will be uncomfortable for liberals and conservatives alike.'*

CHARLES BATTEAU, Glen Allen, Ga., on the Aug. 19 story about the El Paso and Dayton shootings

8. *'He wrote of my heavy burden. I cried on my living room couch.'*

GABRIELLE PRINCE, a 17-year-old leader of her school's Environmental Action Club in Lancaster, N.Y., on former Vice President Al Gore's essay encouraging youth activism, in the Sept. 23 special issue on climate change

9. *'Elites have never relinquished power, and they never will.'*

LEO KRUSACK, Harbert, Mich., on Anand Giridharadas' Dec. 2–9 story arguing that elites are falling out of favor

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KHALID

TALK

#1 chart-topping song TALK
BETTER
OUTTA MY HEAD with John Mayer
BLUFFIN'

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2019 THE YEAR IN

QUOTES

By Olivia B. Waxman

'WE MAY HAVE TO SEEK ANOTHER WAY TO PROTECT OUR COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERESTS.'

KIM JONG UN, North Korean dictator, in a **New Year's Day** warning about the consequences of U.S. sanctions

'There will not be a separate admissions system for the wealthy. And there will not be a separate criminal-justice system either.'

ANDREW LELLING, U.S. Attorney for the District of Massachusetts, announcing **March 12** that the Justice Department was pursuing allegations of a college-admissions racket

'I don't want to have a heart that is boiling like a volcano.'

FARID AHMED, a survivor of the **March 15** shootings in Christchurch, New Zealand, speaking at a remembrance service about why he forgives the perpetrator

'YOUR QUARREL, SIR, IS WITH MY CREATOR.'

PETE BUTTIGIEG, 2020 Democratic presidential hopeful, who is gay, on Vice President Mike Pence's LGBTQ policy positions, at an **April 7** event

'If anybody else did that, it would be considered a crime.'

NANCY PELOSI, U.S. Speaker of the House, accusing Attorney General William Barr of lying to Congress about the Mueller report's findings, on **May 2**

'TODAY, WE CAN'T BREATHE.'

GWEN CARR, mother of Eric Garner, whose death galvanized Black Lives Matter, when the Justice Department said **July 16** it wouldn't bring federal charges against the NYC police officer who put her son in a choke hold; the officer has since been fired

'Give me your tired and your poor who can stand on their own two feet.'

KEN CUCCINELLI, then acting U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services director, tweaking the poem on the Statue of Liberty on **Aug. 13** to justify a rule that could deny green cards to immigrants receiving public assistance

'Greenland is not for sale.'

KIM KIELSEN, Prime Minister of Greenland, responding on **Aug. 16** to reports that U.S. President Donald Trump was interested in buying the island

'THE DEFINITION OF AN ATHLETE IS SOMEONE WHO ON THE COURT TREATS YOU LIKE YOUR WORST ENEMY BUT OFF THE COURT CAN BE YOUR BEST FRIEND.'

COCO GAUFF, tennis player, lauding the sportsmanship of opponent Naomi Osaka, who comforted the 15-year-old after defeating her at the U.S. Open on **Aug. 31**

'Storm Area 51, They Can't Stop All of Us.'

THE NAME OF A FACEBOOK EVENT jokingly calling on people to rush the Nevada Air Force base; the event got more than a million RSVPs, but at most 3,000 came in peace **Sept. 20–22** for a music festival nearby

'One way or another, we will leave the E.U. with this deal.'

BORIS JOHNSON, U.K. Prime Minister, after Parliament on **Oct. 22** rejected a proposal that would have approved his Brexit plan by the Oct. 31 deadline

'TO UNDERMINE A PRESIDENT IS REALLY A VERY DANGEROUS THING.'

NIKKI HALEY, former U.N. ambassador, claiming **Nov. 10** that fellow Trump Admin. officials wanted her to go behind his back

GETTY IMAGES (4)

2019 THE YEAR IN

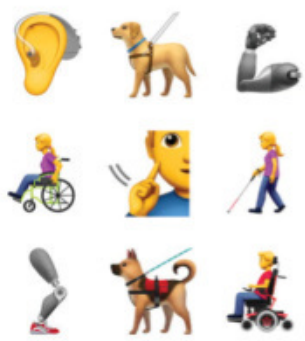
THINGS

By Megan McCluskey

CELESTIAL PHENOMENON

January's "super blood wolf moon" eclipse

ICONS



Apple's first disability-themed emojis

HEADWEAR

Lil Nas X's "Old Town Road" cowboy hat

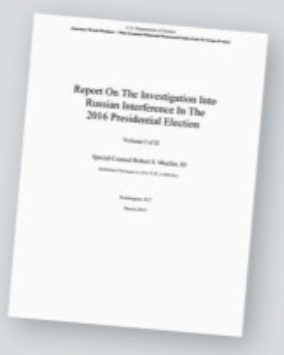
DOLL

Mattel's gender-neutral Creatable World characters

DRINK

White Claw's craze-inducing hard seltzer

DOCUMENT



Robert Mueller's report on Russian interference in 2016

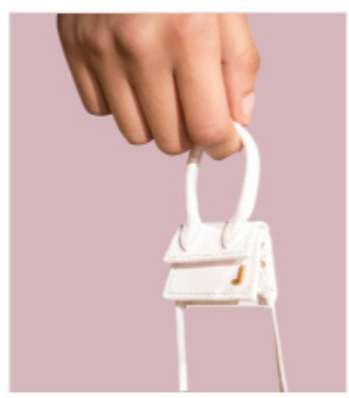
CONTRABAND

Flavored e-cigarettes

PHOTO

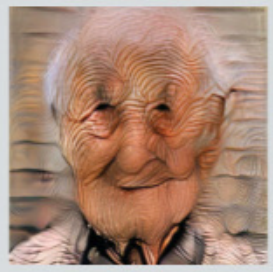
The picture of an egg that became Instagram's most-liked post

ACCESSORY



Jacquemus' Le Chiquito micro-handbag

FILTER



FaceApp's rapid-aging technology

BACKDROP

Water bottles held up by "Fiji water girl" on the Golden Globes red carpet

MERCHANDISE

Much desired "Baby Yoda" toys, not actually available until 2020

MOON, WHITE CLAW, EGG, FIJI, HANDBAG: GETTY IMAGES; DOLLS: JUCO FOR TIME; JUUL: AP; FACEAPP; EMOJIS: EMOJIPEDIA; LIL NAS X: KELIA ANNE FOR TIME; YODA: MATTEL

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2019 THE YEAR IN

GUARDIANS

A DARKENING WORLD FOR NEWS

By Karl Vick

ANN WANG—REUTERS

ONE YEAR AGO, *TIME* NAMED besieged journalists the 2018 Person of the Year, gathered under the rubric THE GUARDIANS AND THE WAR ON TRUTH. Neither that war nor its consequences for democracy have abated in the intervening 12 months.

For Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, whose henchmen killed and dismembered Washington *Post* columnist Jamal Khashoggi in a Saudi consulate, life goes on much as before. In the spring, after the CIA detected new threats against Khashoggi's associates, warnings went out to Canada, Norway and Washington, D.C. In November, the FBI arrested two former employees of Twitter, the platform often described as Saudi Arabia's closest thing to a public square. Both were charged with passing on information about dissidents to bin Salman's government.

By then, the crown prince had gone back to doing interviews with foreign press. Thirteen months and one day after Khashoggi's murder, he presided over an IPO that valued the Saudi national oil company at $1.7 trillion, a world record. And in early December, the kingdom convened the Saudi Media Forum, to examine, according to its website, "challenges" facing the news media, "the formation of public opinion in the new environment of communication and etc."

"Somehow, journalists and businesspeople are attending," marvels Courtney Radsch, advocacy director for the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), a New York–based nonprofit. "Mohammed bin Salman has gotten off with complete impunity."

How? Hints lurk in CPJ's new global survey, which documents what Radsch calls "an environment where it's increasingly perilous to do journalism." Imprisonment remains a favored tactic for repressive governments, and Saudi Arabia now ranks third in the number of journalists behind bars, tied with Egypt. China leads, with Turkey second. But naming and shaming works only when shame is enforced.

"Where's my favorite dictator?" U.S. President Donald Trump called out at a Group of Seven meeting in September, searching for Egyptian President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi. The leader of the free world has also heaped praise on the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and China.

Trump being Trump, Americans shrug—but overseas, a message is received.

Consider Myanmar, where the Reuters journalists Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo, who joined Khashoggi as Person of the Year cover subjects, walked out of jail on May 6. Like their sentence, their freedom came at the whim of the generals who have long controlled the

A rare bright spot: Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo leave prison May 6

country. But as Myanmar is trying to pass as a democracy, the military has grown sensitive to appearances. That's part of why Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo were jailed in the first place: the two embarrassed their government by exposing its involvement in the slaughter of civilians. But steady pressure from outside—Western governments, the U.N., Reuters—brought home that what would really improve Myanmar's image was freeing the journalists, signaling respect for the democratic norm of press freedom.

It's a delicate business, and far harder when the norms are ignored.

After Trump made *fake news* a catchphrase for any report he did not like, governments from Malaysia to Egypt to Uganda made it a legal excuse to criminalize independent journalism. In Cairo, the offices of the independent news website Mada Masr were raided and editors arrested in November, shortly after the site reported that al-Sisi's son was being demoted for failing to protect his father's public image. Not even U.S. journalists are safe in Egypt these days: in September, the New York *Times* revealed that its Cairo correspondent had to escape threatened arrest with the help of the Irish embassy because, under Trump, the U.S. State Department cannot be relied upon to offer protection to American journalists working abroad.

"IT'S MUCH WORSE this year," says Maria Ressa, chief executive officer of Rappler, the last major independent news site in the Philippines and another of the Guardians. "I posted bail eight times in three months."

Vibrant, essential and often plain fun, Rappler stands at a crucial nexus for journalism globally. The site functions first as a watchdog to the government of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte, a profane populist who not only traduces norms but also urges the assassination of Filipino citizens in the name of combatting drugs. But Rappler also rides herd on Facebook, which almost totally dominates the Internet in the former U.S. colony. Before Cambridge Analytica or Russia's Internet Research Agency became household names in the U.S., Rappler reporters were documenting their government's use of fake accounts to intimidate critics and drive its divisive narrative online without leaving fingerprints.

The four covers for the 2018 Person of the Year issue. Watch TIME's documentary about the Capital Gazette a year after the shooting at **time.com/capital-gazette**

The result—sound familiar?—is a profoundly polarized society. As well-meaning people struggle to tell what's true from what's false, distrust in all information rises, and many folks end up just believing what they want. The resulting confusion undermines democracy, because democracy after all requires a common understanding of reality. The ones gaining from the confusion are despots, who cast themselves as vessels of public anger while pushing out their preferred version of reality.

"If nothing significant changes," Ressa warns from Manila, "our dystopian present is your dystopian future."

At the local level, Americans may still know where their news comes from: they see a reporter in church or an editor at the store. When a gunman obsessed with a news story blasted into the Annapolis, Md., offices of the Gazette newspaper the *Capital* on June 28, 2018, and killed five people, neighbors offered not emojis but condolence cards and free counseling for the survivors. The *Capital* staff, designated the fourth set of Guardians, kept working through everything, and report finding both solace and more meaning than ever in what they do.

But local news has also been emaciated by the merciless shift of advertising revenue to digital giants like Google and Facebook; 7,700 media workers lost their jobs in 2019, far more than in the previous three years combined. The cuts reached all-digital newsrooms like BuzzFeed and Vice that supposedly had found a new business model. Meanwhile the success of a handful of outlets like the New York *Times* at funding first-class journalism by selling subscriptions has so far proved to be the exception.

Tech remains a paradox—delivering more information to people, but in ways that tend to give them less faith in what they're reading. Last year, TIME concluded there was "urgent work ahead in shaping a communications system guided not by software but by the judgment of citizens, and the social contract implied in the First Amendment: facts matter." That work remains to be done. ☐

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2019 THE YEAR IN

THEN + NOW

By Olivia B. Waxman

JIMMY CARTER

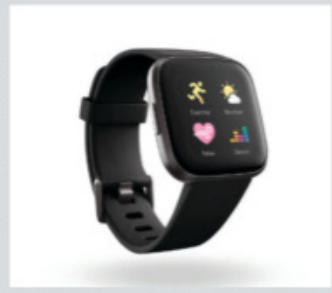
Carter became the longest-lived President in U.S. history on March 22 and—despite a year of health problems—still volunteers and teaches Sunday school

1976

THE PERSONAL COMPUTER

Computing has gotten even more personal than predicted three decades ago, with users logging on from phones, laptops and smart watches

1982



ENDANGERED EARTH

The U.S. has begun the process of withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, and the U.N. says runaway climate change is 11 years away if humanity doesn't act

1988

AIDS RESEARCH

Cover subject Dr. David Ho continues to direct the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center, and President Trump pledged to end HIV transmissions in the U.S. by 2030

1996

RUDY GIULIANI

As President Trump's personal lawyer, he's played a key role in White House dealings with Ukraine—and, subsequently, the impeachment inquiry

2001

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER

Nearly two decades after the war on terror began, the U.S. is still in Iraq and Afghanistan; the latter war has become the longest in U.S. history

2003

MELINDA GATES

Melinda Gates, who was featured alongside fellow philanthropists Bill Gates and Bono, pledged $1 billion in October for gender-equality efforts in the U.S.

2005

MARK ZUCKERBERG

Facebook is the focus of debates about its role in the spread of misinformation, and politicians like Elizabeth Warren have proposed breaking up the company

2010

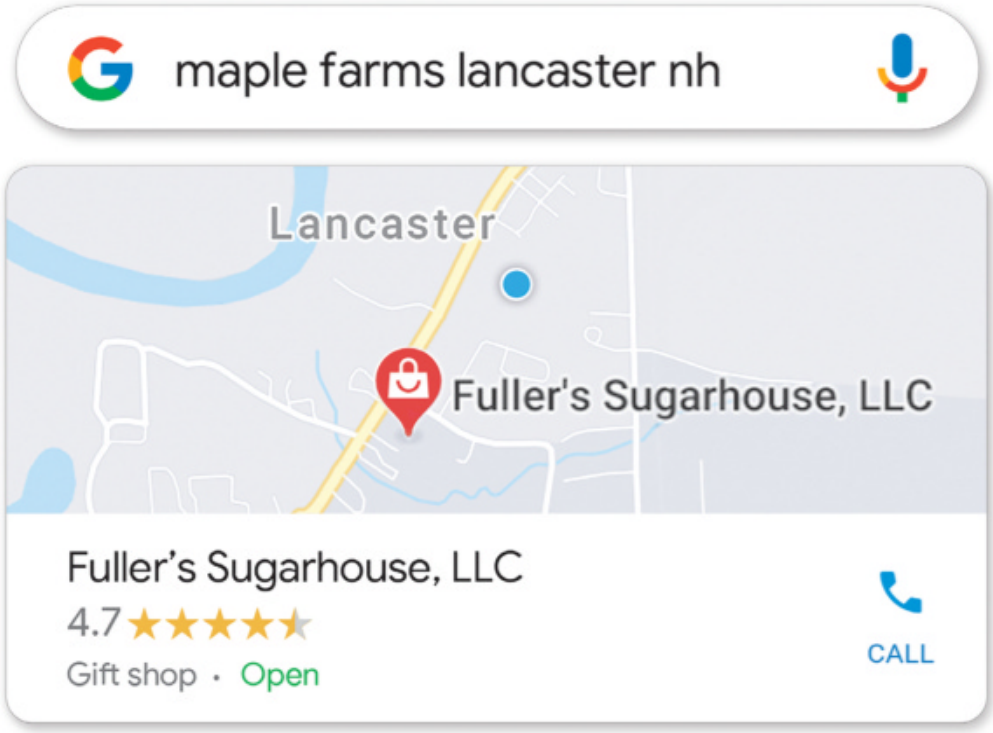
THE PROTESTER

Young people have taken to the streets worldwide for bolder gun control and action on climate change, as pro-democracy demonstrations continue in Hong Kong

2011

EARTH, SOLDIER: AP; GIULIANI: REUTERS; COMPUTER: FITBIT; RESEARCH: ALLISON MICHAEL ORENSTEIN/THE ROCKEFELLER UNIVERSITY; GETTY IMAGES (4)

The same technology that helps you find what you're looking for



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Small business is thriving,
with a little help from Google.

g.co/economicimpact

2019 THE YEAR IN

FIRSTS + LASTS

By Megan McCluskey

FIRSTS

MARCH 19
KAREN UHLENBECK
First woman to win the Abel Prize, for outstanding contributions to mathematics

FEB. 3
POPE FRANCIS
First Pope to visit the Arabian Peninsula

APRIL 10
BLACK HOLE
First image of the astronomical phenomenon revealed by scientists

APRIL 30
EMPEROR AKIHITO
First Japanese monarch to abdicate in more than two centuries

MAY 17
TAIWAN
First country in Asia to legalize same-sex marriage

MAY 6
ARCHIE HARRISON MOUNTBATTEN-WINDSOR
First baby born to Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, and Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex

JUNE 30
PRESIDENT TRUMP
First sitting U.S. President to cross the DMZ into North Korea

JULY 24
ROBERT MUELLER
First public questions taken by the special counsel about his probe into Russian election interference

OCT. 18
SPACEWALK
First all-female spacewalk, completed by Jessica Meir and Christina Koch

OCT. 30
WASHINGTON NATIONALS
First World Series title for the baseball franchise

JANUARY | FEBRUARY | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE | JULY | AUGUST | SEPTEMBER | OCTOBER | NOVEMBER | DECEMBER

JAN. 1
LONELY GEORGE
Last Hawaiian land snail of its species dies, in a lab at the University of Hawaii

MARCH 5
KARL LAGERFELD
Last Chanel collection designed by the late fashion icon debuts

APRIL 9
RICHARD "DICK" COLE
Last member of the Doolittle Raiders dies at 103

MAY 19
GAME OF THRONES
Last episode airs on HBO

JUNE 3
JAMES HOLZHAUER
Last game in the *Jeopardy!* champ's 33-episode run

JUNE 7
THERESA MAY
Last day the Prime Minister leads the U.K.'s Conservative Party

LASTS

JULY 10
VOLKSWAGEN BEETLE
Last car of that model rolls off the assembly line in Puebla, Mexico

OCT. 25
ULURU
Last day on which climbing the Australian landmark is legal

DEC. 3
GOOGLE
Last day with founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin running its parent company

NOV. 28
SUDAN
Last day for a decades-old law that kept women from wearing trousers in public

GETTY IMAGES (5); SPACEWALK: NASA; SNAIL: HAWAII DLNR

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2019 THE YEAR IN

HEROES

DEFENDERS OF NOTRE DAME

By Vivienne Walt/Paris

AS FLAMES LEAPED FROM the roof of Notre Dame cathedral on April 15, those who knew its innermost secrets ventured into the pitch darkness of the smoke-filled nave. Their aim: to rescue some of the most valuable treasures in all of Christianity. "There was no electricity, there was a lot of water, there were alarms going off," says Antoine-Marie Préaut, conservator of historic monuments in the Paris region, remembering the moment he entered the cathedral with Notre Dame's operational director, Laurent Prades, and a group of firefighters. "The atmosphere was apocalyptic."

Millions across the world watched aghast as fire shot from the medieval masterpiece in the heart of Paris. Less visible was how close Notre Dame came to total collapse, and how narrowly its treasures were saved.

About 400 firefighters battled the flames for more than nine hours—some climbing the staircase in its north tower, despite the danger of being trapped, to keep the cathedral's set of 13-ton bells from falling and potentially bringing down the towers and the entire cathedral with them. The roof was already almost gone. "I found a situation that was completely catastrophic," says Jérôme D., a firefighter who climbed to the top, and who cannot be named in full, per the rules of Paris' fire brigade.

Préaut and Prades were so focused on rescuing the relics that they tuned out the chaos. Then they heard a giant noise as the spire crashed into the nave, collapsing the roof. Inside the cathedral, the fire now raged at ground level. "We felt utterly powerless," Prades says. "But then everything happened very, very quickly. We lost all sense of time."

Amid darkness and flames, the men fumbled to unlock a strongbox in a back chapel. Inside were Notre Dame's most precious relics—including the Crown of Thorns that worshippers believe Christ wore to his Crucifixion, as well as pieces of wood and a nail believed to be from the True Cross. The two became part of a human chain, passing the priceless items to safety. "We told the firefighters, 'Take everything you can carry,'" says Préaut, 38. "They were shouting at us, 'Get out, get out!'"

Toward midnight, police finally escorted Préaut to city hall, where the relics were locked up for safekeeping. As their van crossed a bridge over the Seine, Préaut was stunned to see crowds jamming the entire area. "There were thousands and thousands of people

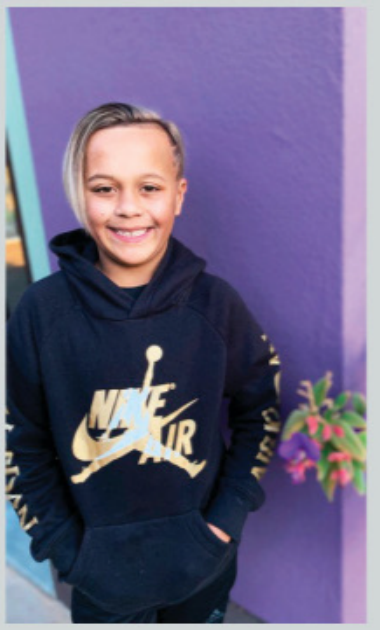
The damaged cathedral in June. Below, Prades, left, and Préaut on Nov. 29

just standing on the street silently, in shock," he says. "I had the impression like it was the end of the world."

Indeed, that night was the end of an era for a tight-knit group that had worked together for years at Notre Dame. As the months have gone by, the memory has weighed on Prades, 44, who has been at Notre Dame for more than 20 years. Préaut still has trouble sleeping. "There is a trauma from the event itself, from the hours that I spent in the cathedral," Prades says. "There is also the trauma of knowing what might have happened."

The two men are among a handful of people who have spent months working in trailers in the cathedral's backyard, helping to prepare for the mammoth reconstruction ahead. The treasures and relics have been moved to a safe room within the Louvre Museum, and Notre Dame is wrapped in scaffolding and plastic. It will be shut perhaps until 2024, while its roof and spire are rebuilt. Until then, its ravaged state is a daily reminder of that terrifying night. "We would be happy to turn the page, to recover and go back to normal life," Préaut says. When that time comes, the relics will go home, to their place of honor in a cathedral that, against the odds, still stands. ◻

NOTRE DAME: PATRICK ZACHMANN—MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR TIME; PRADES AND PRÉAUT: WILLIAM DANIELS—PANOS FOR TIME; KYOTE: COURTESY KYLIE KIRKPATRICK



A boy who helped change the law on school-lunch debt

Nine-year-old Ryan Kyote was eating breakfast at home in Napa, Calif., when he saw the news: an Indiana school had taken a 6-year-old's meal when her lunch account didn't have enough money. Kyote asked if that could happen to his friends. When his mom contacted the school district to find out, she learned that students at schools in their district had, all told, as much as $25,000 in lunch debt. Although the district says it never penalized students who owed, Kyote decided to use his saved allowance to pay off his grade's debt, about $74—becoming the face of a movement to end lunch-money debt. When California Governor Gavin Newsom signed a bill in October that banned "lunch shaming," or giving worse food to students with debt, he thanked Kyote for his "empathy and his courage" in raising awareness of the issue. "Heroes," Kyote points out, "come in all ages."

A ONE-MAN CREW AMID THE FLOOD

By Madeleine Carlisle

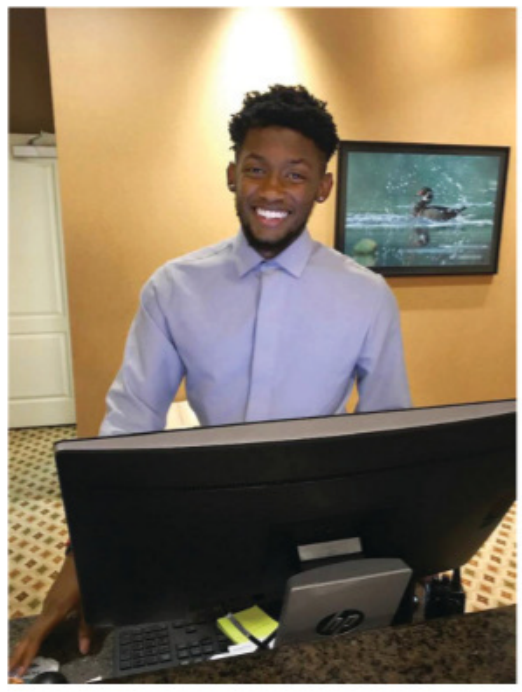
IT WAS SUPPOSED TO RAIN FOR only a few hours. When then 21-year-old Lamar University student Satchel Smith got to his job at Homewood Suites in Beaumont, Texas, on Sept. 18, he planned to leave promptly when his eight-hour shift was done; he had class in the morning. But the rain didn't stop. By nightfall, Tropical Depression Imelda had flooded the highway. No one could reach—or leave—the hotel, and Smith was the only employee there to tend to the hotel's roughly 90 guests.

According to the *Texas Tribune*, Imelda dropped up to 43 in. of rain in parts of southeast Texas and caused flooding that killed five people. But inside the hotel, Smith didn't panic. He answered the phone as it rang all night. In the morning, people started looking for breakfast. Despite not knowing how to cook, Smith raided the kitchen and made sure everyone got a hot meal. The storm set off the fire alarm; he ushered tired guests out and back into the building.

Angela Chandler, an educator from Nacogdoches, Texas, was one of those guests. She had come to Beaumont for a business trip and was already nervous about being away from home. But as she watched Smith, she suddenly felt grateful. "Satchel was in and out of the kitchen, answering the phone, taking care of guests with a smile on his face," she says. "And I looked at him and realized, 'That baby is only a year older than my son.'" She was floored by his composure, and shared her observation on social media.

As the day ticked on, it became clear Smith would also have to cook dinner. By then the guests had started pitching in. Helping him cook and clean, they made chicken and pasta. A few people walked food and water out to truckers stranded on the highway. Someone brought out playing cards.

"We all came together. They made



sure I was all right; I made sure that they were all right," Smith recalls. Finally, another employee was able to get through the water in a monster truck to relieve him.

He had worked over 30 hours straight, and stayed awake the entire time.

Chandler's post about Smith's steadfastness quickly went viral. While he says it's nice to be recognized, Smith adds, "I kind of feel like I was just doing my job." □

A woman who kept dozens of dogs safe during Hurricane Dorian

Chella Phillips has lived in the Bahamas since 2004, and she knows what a storm can do. When Hurricane Dorian barreled toward her home, she got to work. Phillips has run Nassau's Pawtcake Refuge, which cares for homeless dogs, out of her home since 2015. She had 82 dogs there already but searched out more. By the time Dorian arrived, she was hunkering down in her three-bedroom house with 97 dogs, and she dashed off a quick Facebook post about the mayhem. Then she lost power. It was only after Phillips emerged that she learned her post had gone viral. Nassau was largely spared, but the storm devastated the Abaco Islands and Grand Bahama, killing scores of people and leaving many with a sense of hopelessness. Her story had become a bit of positive news to hang onto, drawing thousands of messages from around the world. "I [said], 'Why are people so impressed about this?'" she says. "Anybody who cares about these animals would have done that." Still, she's grateful for the extra attention on the dogs: in the week after Dorian, Phillips sent 68 to homes or rescue groups in the U.S.

SMITH: COURTESY ANGELA CHANDLER; PHILLIPS: ZUMA

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A COACH WHO EMBRACED AN ARMED STUDENT

By Melissa Chan

WHEN A DISTRESSED student appeared before him, armed with a shotgun, Keanon Lowe had no time to think. The football and track coach at Parkrose High School in Portland, Ore., lunged for the firearm, as students knocked over desks in panic. "It was a very surreal moment," Lowe says, "all the kids screaming for their lives." After a tug-of-war that seemed to last forever, Lowe, 27, wrestled the gun out of the student's grasp. Then, in an unexpected move, he pulled the student in for a hug. "I didn't see an evil kid," Lowe says. "I saw a kid that was going through a lot."

The student, identified by authorities as 19-year-old Angel Granados-Diaz, had been suicidal for several months, according to prosecutors, when he took the loaded and legally bought shotgun to school on May 17. Before Lowe intervened, the teen had already tried killing himself outside a bathroom, but the shotgun did not discharge. "What he needed was a shoulder to cry on and someone to hug him," says Lowe, who has been coaching and serving as the school's security guard for the past two years. "I don't know the last time he got a hug." While Granados-Diaz resisted the embrace at first and tried shoving Lowe away, the coach's comforting words soon softened him. "I told him that I cared about him and that I was there for him and I was there to save him," Lowe says. "He was surprised that I had said that. He said, 'You do?' and looked me right in my face. I said, 'Yes, I do.' He gave in to the hug, and that made a huge difference."

Lowe and Granados-Diaz were strangers until then, but they held their embrace for at least 20 seconds, as Lowe passed the shotgun to another teacher. The moment, captured by a security camera, moved tens of thousands of people who saw it on social media. "No one would have batted an eye if he responded more aggressively," says the school's principal, Molly Ouche. "But he had compassion."

For his bravery and kindness, Lowe was awarded a civilian medal of heroism from Portland's police chief, and the city's mayor declared May 29 to be "Coach Keanon Lowe Day of Recognition." The accolades have been humbling and overwhelming, says Lowe, who played football at the University of Oregon. But he's ready to move on, mostly so Granados-Diaz can do the same. On Oct. 10, Granados-Diaz pleaded guilty to having a loaded firearm in public and was sentenced to 36 months of formal probation, which includes mental-health treatment. According to prosecutors, his gun was loaded with only one round, meant for himself. It was evident that day that the student was "fighting demons," Lowe says.

"This was just one moment in my life that's not going to define me," he adds. "And it's not going to define Angel as well." ◻

A bus driver who brought kids in from the cold

As temperatures fell below 20°F on Nov. 11, Nicole Chamberlain, a bus driver in Waukesha, Wis., peered through her windshield and saw two children wandering alone outside, headed toward a busy intersection. "They were upset, frazzled," says Chamberlain, 44, who pulled her bus over and called out to them. When the children—a 2-year-old girl and her 6-year-old brother—came bounding over, Chamberlain realized neither was wearing a coat and the girl had on only a T-shirt and a diaper. "It was mind-blowing," says Chamberlain, who was captured on the bus's surveillance cameras wrapping her coat around the toddler's bare legs. Chamberlain stayed with the children until police arrived, along with the children's grandmother, who was babysitting when they darted out of the house. "It's nice to have a feel-good story to share," says Chamberlain. After a fellow driver tipped off a local news station to the story, strangers from all over the country agreed. "You saw something amiss and chose to step up to prevent a potential tragedy," one wrote on her Facebook page. "I hope your example inspires others."

LOWE: JORDAN MURPH—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED/GETTY IMAGES; CHAMBERLAIN: YOUTUBE

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2019 THE YEAR IN

LANGUAGE

By Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

FLYGSKAM

noun

1: "Flight shame" (Swedish)

2: A movement encouraging people to stop traveling by plane in order to reduce carbon emissions

hot girl

adjective

Confident and unapologetic, as expressed in rapper Megan Thee Stallion's call for her fans to have a "hot girl summer"

HINDUTVA

noun

1: An ideology that seeks to define Indian culture through Hindu values

2: A concept underpinning the Hindu nationalist movement that helped Narendra Modi win a second term as Prime Minister of India

QUANTUM SUPREMACY

noun

The development of a computer that uses the laws of quantum physics to complete tasks no conventional computer can do in a reasonable amount of time—i.e., solving in minutes a problem that would take another supercomputer 10,000 years, as Google says its quantum processor can

COLLUSION

noun

Secret cooperation for an illegal or illicit purpose

this man

noun

1: Someone you probably should know but either don't or refuse to recognize

2: Former Vice President Dick Cheney, as per a viral *Vanity Fair* interview with actor and singer Keke Palmer

SINGLE-USE

adjective

Designed to be used only once before being disposed, often applied to plastic items such as straws, bottles and bags

SELF-PARTNERED

adjective

Happily unattached, romantically, as coined by actor Emma Watson in an interview with British *Vogue*

streaming wars

noun

The battle for market control among subscription streaming services such as Netflix, Hulu and Disney+

CAMP

noun

A pointedly exaggerated mode of expression (and the theme of May's Met Gala)

SKSKSKSK

interjection

An expression of humor, frustration or surprise originating from the position of thumbs on a cell-phone keyboard

THEMSELF

pronoun

A gender-neutral reflexive singular pronoun, used in place of *himself* or *herself,* per a definition added to Merriam-Webster's dictionary in September

prorogue

verb

To suspend a legislative assembly session without dissolving it, as U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson tried to do to Parliament in an attempt to force a "no deal" Brexit

QUID PRO QUO

noun

A favor for a favor (Latin), as in reference to allegations that President Donald Trump withheld hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid to Ukraine to pressure the country into investigating Joe Biden and his son

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TOMI UM FOR TIME

PERSON OF THE YEAR

2019 PERSON OF THE YEAR

GRETA THUNBERG

Photographs by Evgenia Arbugaeva for TIME

THE CHOICE

By Edward Felsenthal

IT BEGAN WITH A STORY LINE FAMILIAR TO EVERY PARENT

of every generation in every corner of the globe: an indignant teenager and a sudden burst of rebellion. It became one of the most unlikely and surely one of the swiftest ascents to global influence in history. Over the course of little more than a year, a 16-year-old from Stockholm went from a solitary protest on the cobblestones outside her country's Parliament to leading a worldwide youth movement; from a schoolkid conjugating verbs in French class to meeting with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and receiving audiences with Presidents and the Pope; from a solo demonstrator with a hand-painted slogan (SKOLSTREJK FÖR KLIMATET) to inspiring millions of people across more than 150 countries to take to the streets on behalf of the planet we share.

Meaningful change rarely happens without the galvanizing force of influential individuals, and in 2019, the earth's existential crisis found one in Greta Thunberg. Marshaling "Fridays for Future" protests throughout Europe; thundering, "How dare you!" at the world's most powerful leaders in her viral U.N. speech; leading some 7 million climate strikers across the world in September and tens of thousands more in Madrid in early December, Thunberg has become the biggest voice on the biggest issue facing the planet—and the avatar of a broader generational shift in our culture that is playing out everywhere from the campuses of Hong Kong to the halls of Congress in Washington.

As Isabella Prata, the mother of two climate strikers in São Paulo, puts it, "Greta is an image of all of this generation."

Thunberg demands action, and though far too many key measures are still moving in the wrong direction, there are nascent

signs that action is coming. Corporate commitments to sustainable growth and net-zero emissions are on the rise. More than 60 countries have pledged to have a net carbon footprint of zero by 2050. American primary voters, especially in states beset by wildfires and flooding, are suddenly giving presidential candidates an earful on climate change. In Austria's September elections, the Green Party more than tripled its support at the expense of the Social Democrats, a development a leader of the Social Democrats attributed to Thunberg—just before he resigned. Even as China burns half the world's coal, it too is changing. It's now home to roughly 45% of the electric cars and 99% of the electric buses in the world.

Thunberg stands on the shoulders—and at the side—of hundreds of thousands of others who've been blockading the streets and settling the science, many of them since before she was born. She is also the first to note that her privileged background makes her "one of the lucky ones," as she puts it, in a crisis that disproportionately affects poor and indigenous communities. But this was the year the climate crisis went from behind the curtain to center stage, from ambient political noise to squarely on the world's agenda, and no one did more to make that happen than Thunberg.

It is not a moment too soon: emissions would need to start falling next year by 7.6% annually and continue at that rate for a decade in order for the world to have any chance of hitting the widely accepted targets for stopping global warming. Thunberg's wake-up call is a necessary jolt. It is up to us all to meet it with solutions.

THAT THUNBERG is the youngest individual ever named TIME's Person of the Year says as much about the moment as it does about her. The 92-year-old franchise is rooted in the so-called Great Man theory of history, the notion that powerful individuals shape the world. Historically that has meant people who worked their way up the ladders of major organizations and were at home in the corridors of power. But in this moment when so many traditional institutions seem to be failing us, amid staggering inequality and social upheaval and political paralysis, we are seeing new kinds of influence take hold. It is wielded by people like Thunberg, leaders with a cause and a phone who don't fit the old rubrics but who connect with us in ways that institutions can't and perhaps never could.

When she first heard about global warming as an 8-year-old, Thunberg says she thought, "That can't be happening, because if that were happening, then the politicians would be taking care of it." That they weren't is precisely what motivated her to act, as it has youth the world over who are forcing us to confront the peril of our own inaction, from the student-led protests on the streets of Santiago, Chile, to the young democracy activists fighting for rights and representation in Hong Kong to the high schoolers from Parkland, Fla., whose march against gun violence Thunberg cites as an inspiration for her climate strikes.

"I'd like to tell my grandchildren that we did everything we could," she told TIME from the coast of Virginia in mid-November, as she prepared to cross the Atlantic by sailboat, "and we did it for them and for the generations to come."

For sounding the alarm about humanity's predatory relationship with the only home we have, for bringing to a fragmented world a voice that transcends backgrounds and borders, for showing us all what it might look like when a new generation leads, Greta Thunberg is TIME's 2019 Person of the Year.

1 °C

The amount that temperatures have already risen since the Industrial Revolution

4 M

The approximate number of people who participated in the Global Climate Strike on Sept. 20, from all seven continents, making it the largest climate protest in history

THE CONSCIENCE

By Charlotte Alter, Suyin Haynes and Justin Worland

GRETA THUNBERG SITS IN SILENCE IN THE CABIN OF THE BOAT THAT WILL TAKE HER ACROSS THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.

Inside, there's a cow skull hanging on the wall, a faded globe, a child's yellow raincoat. Outside, it's a tempest: rain pelts the boat, ice coats the decks, and the sea batters the vessel that will take this slight girl, her father and a few companions from Virginia to Portugal. For a moment, it's as if Thunberg were the eye of a hurricane, a pool of resolve at the center of swirling chaos. In here, she speaks quietly. Out there, the entire natural world seems to amplify her small voice, screaming along with her.

"We can't just continue living as if there was no tomorrow, because there is a tomorrow," she says, tugging on the sleeve of her blue sweatshirt. "That is all we are saying."

It's a simple truth, delivered by a teenage girl in a fateful moment.

A LONG VOYAGE

Thunberg writes in her journal on the train as she travels from Lisbon to Madrid for a U.N. climate conference

The sailboat, *La Vagabonde,* will shepherd Thunberg to the Port of Lisbon, and from there she will travel to Madrid, where the United Nations is hosting this year's climate conference. It is the last such summit before nations commit to new plans to meet a major deadline set by the Paris Agreement. Unless they agree on transformative action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the world's temperature rise since the Industrial Revolution will hit the 1.5°C mark—an eventuality that scientists warn will expose some 350 million additional people to drought and push roughly 120 million people into extreme poverty by 2030. For every fraction of a degree that temperatures increase, these problems will worsen. This is not fearmongering; this is science. For decades, researchers and activists have struggled to get world leaders to take the climate threat seriously. But this year, an unlikely teenager somehow got the world's attention.

Thunberg began a global movement by skipping school: starting in August 2018, she

REJK
TET

MEDIA FRENZY

Thunberg arrives in Madrid for the last U.N. climate summit before a crucial deadline in 2020

spent her days camped out in front of the Swedish Parliament, holding a sign painted in black letters on a white background that read SKOLSTREJK FÖR KLIMATET: "School Strike for Climate." In the 16 months since, she has addressed heads of state at the U.N., met with the Pope, sparred with the President of the United States and inspired 4 million people to join the global climate strike on September 20, 2019, in what was the largest climate demonstration in human history. Her image has been celebrated in murals and Halloween costumes, and her name has been attached to everything from bike shares to beetles. Margaret Atwood compared her to Joan of Arc. After noticing a hundredfold increase in its usage, lexicographers at Collins Dictionary named Thunberg's pioneering idea, *climate strike,* the word of the year.

The politics of climate action are as entrenched and complex as the phenomenon itself, and Thunberg has no magic solution. But she has succeeded in creating a global attitudinal shift, transforming millions of vague, middle-of-the-night anxieties into a worldwide movement calling for urgent change. She has offered a moral clarion call to those who are willing to act, and hurled shame on those who are not. She has persuaded leaders, from mayors to Presidents, to make commitments where they had previously fumbled: after she spoke to Parliament and demonstrated with the British environmental group Extinction Rebellion, the U.K. passed a law requiring that the country eliminate its carbon footprint. She has focused the world's attention on environmental injustices that young indigenous activists have been protesting for years. Because of her, hundreds of thousands of teenage "Gretas," from Lebanon to Liberia, have skipped school to lead their peers in climate strikes around the world.

"This moment does feel different," former Vice President Al Gore, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his decades of climate advocacy work, tells TIME. "Throughout history, many great morally based movements have gained traction at the very moment when young people decided to make that movement their cause."

Thunberg is 16 but looks 12. She usually wears her light brown hair pulled into two braids, parted in the middle. She has Asperger's syndrome, which means she doesn't operate on the same emotional register as many of the people she meets. She dislikes crowds; ignores small talk; and speaks in direct, uncomplicated sentences. She cannot be flattered or distracted. She is not impressed by other people's celebrity, nor does she seem to have interest in her own growing fame. But these very qualities have helped make her a global sensation. Where others smile to cut the tension, Thunberg is withering. Where others speak the language of hope, Thunberg repeats the unassailable science: Oceans will rise. Cities will flood. Millions of people will suffer.

"I want you to panic," she told the annual convention of CEOs and world leaders at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in January. "I want you to feel the fear I feel every day. And then I want you to act."

Thunberg is not a leader of any political party or advocacy group. She is neither the first to sound the alarm about the climate crisis nor the most qualified to fix it. She is not a scientist or a politician. She has no access to traditional levers of influence: she's not a billionaire or a princess, a pop star or even an adult. She is an ordinary teenage girl who, in summoning the courage to speak truth to power, became the icon of a generation. By clarifying an abstract danger with piercing outrage, Thunberg became the most compelling voice on the most important issue facing the planet.

Along the way, she emerged as a standard bearer in a generational battle, an avatar of youth activists across the globe fighting for everything from gun control to democratic representation. Her global climate strike is the largest and most international of all the youth movements, but it's hardly the only one: teenagers in the U.S. are organizing against gun violence and flocking to progressive candidates; students in Hong Kong are battling for democratic representation; and young people from South America to Europe are agitating for remaking the global economy. Thunberg is not aligned with these disparate protests, but her insistent presence has come to represent the fury of youth worldwide. According to a December Amnesty International survey, young people in 22 countries identified climate change as the most important issue facing the world. She is a reminder that the people in charge now will not be in charge forever, and that the young people who are inheriting dysfunctional governments, broken economies and an increasingly unlivable planet know just how much the adults have failed them.

"She symbolizes the agony, the frustration, the desperation, the anger—at some level, the hope—of many young people who won't even be of age to vote by the time their futures are doomed," says Varshini Prakash, 26, who cofounded the Sunrise Movement, a U.S. youth advocacy group pushing for a Green New Deal.

Thunberg's moment comes just as urgent scientific reality collides with global political

3°C

Likely global temperature rise by 2100, even if every nation follows through on its current commitments to reduce emissions under the Paris Agreement

uncertainty. Each year that we dump more carbon into the atmosphere, the planet grows nearer to a point of no return, where life on earth as we know it will change unalterably. Scientifically, the planet can't afford another setback; politically, this may be our best chance to make sweeping change before it's too late.

Next year will be decisive: the E.U. is planning to tax imports from countries that don't tackle climate change; the global energy sector faces a financial reckoning; China will draft its development plans for the next five years; and the U.S. presidential election will determine whether the leader of the free world continues to ignore the science of climate change.

"When you are a leader and every week you have young people demonstrating with such a message, you cannot remain neutral," French President Emmanuel Macron told TIME. "They helped me change." Leaders respond to pressure, pressure is created by movements, movements are built by thousands of people changing their minds. And sometimes, the best way to change a mind is to see the world through the eyes of a child.

THUNBERG IS MAYBE 5 ft. tall, and she looks even smaller in her black oversize wet-weather gear. Late November is not the time of year to cross the Atlantic Ocean: the seas are rough, the winds are fierce, and the small boat—a leaky catamaran—spent weeks pounding and bucking over 23-ft. seas. At first, Thunberg got seasick. Once, a huge wave came over the boat, ripping a chair off the deck and snapping ropes. Another time, she was awakened by the sound of thunder cracking overhead, and the crew feared that lightning would strike the mast.

But Thunberg, in her quiet way, was unfazed. She spent most of the long afternoons in the cabin, listening to audiobooks and teaching her shipmates to play Yatzy. On calm days, she climbed on deck and looked across the vast colorless sea. Somewhere below the surface, millions of tons of plastic swirled. Thousands of miles to the north, the sea ice was melting.

Thunberg approaches the world's problems with the weight of an elder, but she's still a kid. She favors sweatpants and Velcro sneakers, and shares matching bracelets with her 14-year-old sister. She likes horses, and she misses her two dogs, Moses and Roxy, back in Stockholm. Her mother Malena Ernman is a leading Swedish opera singer. Her father Svante Thunberg is distantly related to Svante Arrhenius, a Nobel Prize–winning chemist who studied how carbon dioxide in the atmosphere increases

'WHEN YOU ARE A LEADER AND EVERY WEEK YOU HAVE YOUNG PEOPLE DEMONSTRATING WITH SUCH A MESSAGE, YOU CANNOT REMAIN NEUTRAL ... THEY HELPED ME CHANGE'

Emmanuel Macron, President of France

The Impact

CONTINENTAL SHIFT

Millions of young people across the globe have joined the fight for urgent climate action in a series of protests in 2019

ANTARCTICA

Scientists support the climate strikers from the **Western Antarctic Peninsula** in September

SOUTH AMERICA

Thousands march in **Santiago, Chile,** during a Fridays for Future protest in March demanding urgent action to address global warming

ASIA

Fridays for Future activists protest climate inaction in September in **Lahore, Pakistan**

EUROPE

Young protesters with Extinction Rebellion take to the streets of **London** in October

AUSTRALIA

Demonstrators bring Greta Thunberg masks to an environmental protest in **Melbourne** in September

AFRICA

Above: Leah Namugerwa, 15, and Hilda Nakabuye, 22, lead a climate protest near **Kampala, Uganda,** in September

NORTH AMERICA

Left: High school and middle-school students in **New York City** perform a "die-in" in March to demand a Green New Deal

ANTARCTICA: DR. KIM BERNARD—OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY; SOUTH AMERICA: MARTIN BERNETTI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; AMERICA: CHRISTOPHER LEE—VII/REDUX; AFRICA: SUMY SADURNI—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; ASIA: ARIF ALI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; EUROPE: MATT STUART—MAPS; AUSTRALIA: ALANA HOLMBERG—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

the temperature on the earth's surface.

More than a century after that science became known, Thunberg's primary-school teacher showed a video of its effects: starving polar bears, extreme weather and flooding. The teacher explained that it was all happening because of climate change. Afterward the entire class felt glum, but the other kids were able to move on. Thunberg couldn't. She began to feel extremely alone. She was 11 years old when she fell into a deep depression. For months, she stopped speaking almost entirely, and ate so little that she was nearly hospitalized; that period of malnutrition would later stunt her growth. Her parents took time off work to nurse her through what her father remembers as a period of "endless sadness," and Thunberg herself recalls feeling confused. "I couldn't understand how that could exist, that existential threat, and yet we didn't prioritize it," she says. "I was maybe in a bit of denial, like, 'That can't be happening, because if that were happening, then the politicians would be taking care of it.'"

At first, Thunberg's father reassured her that everything would be O.K., but as he read more about the climate crisis, he found his own words rang hollow. "I realized that she was right and I was wrong, and I had been wrong all my life," Svante told TIME in a quiet moment after arriving in Lisbon. In an effort to comfort their daughter, the family began changing their habits to reduce their emissions. They mostly stopped eating meat, installed solar panels, began growing their own vegetables and eventually gave up flying—a sacrifice for Thunberg's mother, who performs throughout Europe. "We did all these things, basically, not really to save the climate, we didn't care much about that initially," says Svante. "We did it to make her happy and to get her back to life." Slowly, Thunberg began to eat and talk again.

Thunberg's Asperger's diagnosis helped explain why she had such a powerful reaction to learning about the climate crisis. Because she doesn't process information in the same way neurotypical people do, she could not compartmentalize the fact that her planet was in peril. "I see the world in black and white, and I don't like compromising," she told TIME during a school break earlier this year. "If I were like everyone else, I would have continued on and not seen this crisis." She is in some ways grateful for her diagnosis; if her brain worked differently, she explained, "I wouldn't be able to sit for hours and read things I'm interested in." Thunberg's focus and way of speaking betrays a maturity far beyond her years. When she passed classmates at her school, she remarked that "the children are being quite noisy," as if she were not one of them.

7 MILLION

The number of people who were displaced by extreme weather in the first half of 2019; that number is expected to grow to hundreds of millions in the coming decades

In May 2018, after Thunberg wrote an essay about climate change that was published in a Swedish newspaper, a handful of Scandinavian climate activists contacted her. Thunberg suggested they emulate the students from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., who had recently organized school strikes to protest gun violence in the U.S. The other activists decided against the idea, but it lodged in Thunberg's mind. She announced to her parents that she would go on strike to pressure the Swedish government to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement. Her school strike, she told them, would last until the Swedish elections in September 2018.

Thunberg's parents were less than thrilled at first at the idea of their daughter missing so much class, and her teachers suggested she find a different way to protest. But Thunberg was immovable. She put together a flyer with facts about extinction rates and carbon budgets, and then sprinkled it with the cheeky sense of humor that has made her stubbornness go viral. "My name is Greta, I am in ninth grade, and I am school-striking for the climate," she wrote on each flyer. "Since you adults don't give a damn about my future, I won't either."

On Aug. 20, 2018, Thunberg arrived in front of the Swedish Parliament, wearing a blue hoodie and carrying her homemade school-strike sign. She had no institutional support, no formal backing and nobody to keep her company. But doing something—making a stand, even if she was by herself—felt better than doing nothing. "Learning about climate change triggered my depression in the first place," she says. "But it was also what got me out of my depression, because there were things I could do to improve the situation. I don't have time to be depressed anymore." Her father said that after she began striking, it was as if she "came back to life."

On the first day of her climate strike, Thunberg was alone. She sat slumped on the ground, seeming barely bigger than her backpack. It was an unusually chilly August day. She posted about her strike on social media, and a few journalists came by to talk to her, but most of the day she was on her own. She ate her packed lunch of bean pasta with salt, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when she'd normally leave school, her father picked her up and they biked home.

On the second day, a stranger joined her. "That was a big step, from one to two," she

recalls. "This is not about me striking; this is now us striking from school." A few days later, a handful more came. A Greenpeace activist brought vegan pad thai, which Thunberg tried for the first time. They were suddenly a group: one person refusing to accept the status quo had become two, then eight, then 40, then hundreds. Then thousands.

By early September, enough people had joined Thunberg's climate strike in Stockholm that she announced she would continue every Friday until Sweden aligned with the Paris Agreement. The Fridays for Future movement was born. By the end of 2018, tens of thousands of students across Europe began skipping school on Fridays to protest their own leaders' inaction. In January, 35,000 schoolchildren protested in Belgium following Thunberg's example. The movement struck a chord. When a Belgian environmental minister insulted the strikers, a public outcry forced her to resign.

By September 2019, the climate strikes had spread beyond northern Europe. In New York City, 250,000 reportedly marched in Battery Park and outside City Hall. In London, 100,000 swarmed the streets near Westminster Abbey, in the shadow of Big Ben. In Germany, a total of 1.4 million people took to the streets, with thousands flooding the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and marching in nearly 600 other cities and towns across the country. From Antarctica to Papua New Guinea, from Kabul to Johannesburg, an estimated 4 million people of all ages showed up to protest. Their signs told a story. In London: THE WORLD IS HOTTER THAN YOUNG LEONARDO DICAPRIO. In Turkey: EVERY DISASTER MOVIE STARTS WITH A SCIENTIST BEING IGNORED. In New York: THE DINOSAURS THOUGHT THEY HAD TIME, TOO. Hundreds carried images of Thunberg or painted her quotes onto poster boards. MAKE THE WORLD GRETA AGAIN became a rallying cry.

Her moral clarity inspired other young people around the world. "I want to be like her," says Rita Amorim, a 16-year-old student from Lisbon who waited for four hours in December to catch a glimpse of Thunberg.

In Udaipur, India, 17-year-old Vidit Baya started his climate strike with just six people in March; by September, it was 80 strong. In Brasilia, Brazil, 19-year-old Artemisa Xakriabá marched with other indigenous women as the Amazon was burning, then traveled to the U.N. climate summit in New York City. In Guilin, China, 16-year-old Howey Ou posted a picture of herself online in front of city government

KID SISTERS

Greta, right, with her
younger sister Beata
in a family photo circa 2008

THE THUNBERG FAMILY

Beata, Greta, their mother
Malena Ernman and father Svante
Thunberg with their two dogs
Roxy and Moses in 2018

COURTESY THUNBERG-ERNMAN FAMILY (2)

A LONELY STRIKE

Thunberg first began skipping school in August 2018, sitting in front of Swedish Parliament to demand climate action

offices in a solo act of climate protest; she was taken to a police station and told her demonstration was illegal. In Moscow, 25-year-old Arshak Makichyan began a one-man picket for climate, risking arrest in a country where street protest is tightly restricted. In Haridwar, India, 11-year-old Ridhima Pandey joined 15 other kids, including Thunberg, in filing a complaint to the U.N. against Germany, France, Brazil, Argentina and Turkey, arguing that the nations' failure to tackle the climate crisis amounted to a violation of child rights.

In New York City, 17-year-old Xiye Bastida, originally from an indigenous Otomi community in Mexico, led 600 of her peers in a climate walkout from her Manhattan high school. And in Kampala, Uganda, 22-year-old Hilda Nakabuye launched her own chapter of Fridays for Future after she realized that the strong rains and long droughts that hurt her family's crops could be attributed to global warming. "Before I knew about climate change, I was already experiencing its effects in my life," she says.

The activism of children has also motivated their parents. In São Paulo, Isabella Prata joined a group called Parents for Future to support child activists. Thunberg, she says, "is an image of all of this generation."

It all happened so fast. Just over a year ago, a quiet and mostly friendless teenager woke up, put on her blue hoodie, and sat by herself for hours in an act of singular defiance. Fourteen months later, she had become the voice of millions, a symbol of a rising global rebellion.

ON DEC. 3, *La Vagabonde* docked beneath a flight path to Portugal's largest airport. Thunberg and her father stood on the deck, waving to the hundreds of people that had gathered on a cold, sunny day to welcome them back to Europe. Above their heads, planes droned, reminders of how easily Thunberg could have crossed the ocean by air, and of the cost of that convenience: the roughly 124,000 flights that take off every day spill millions of tons of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. "I'm

FROM LEFT: MICHAEL CAMPANELLA—GETTY IMAGES; EVGENIA ARBUGAEVA FOR TIME

not traveling like this because I want everyone to do so," Thunberg told reporters after she walked, a little wobbly at first, onto dry land for the first time in weeks. "I'm doing this to send a message that it is impossible to live sustainably today, and that needs to change."

Taking her place in front of a bank of television cameras and reporters, she went on. "People are underestimating the force of angry kids," she said. "We are angry and frustrated, and that is because of good reason. If they want us to stop being angry then maybe they should stop making us angry." When she was done speaking, the crowd erupted in cheers.

Her speeches often go straight to the gut. "You say you love your children above all else," she said in her first big address at the U.N. Climate Change Conference in Poland last December. "And yet you are stealing their future in front of their very eyes." The address went viral almost immediately. Over the course of the past year, she has given dozens of similar admonitions—to chief executives and heads of state, to thought leaders and movie stars. Each time, Thunberg speaks quietly but forcefully, articulating the palpable sense of injustice that often seems obvious to the very young: adults, by refusing to act in the face of extraordinary crisis, are being foolish at best, and corrupt at worst. To those who share her fear, Thunberg's blunt honesty is cathartic. To those who don't, it feels threatening. She refuses to use the language of hope; her sharpest weapon is shame.

In September, speaking to heads of state during the U.N. General Assembly, Thunberg pulled no punches: "We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth," she said. "How dare you."

Mary Robinson, the former President of Ireland who served as the U.N. climate envoy ahead of the Paris climate talks, spent years arguing that climate change would destroy small island nations and indigenous

A MASS MOVEMENT

On Dec. 6, tens of thousands of people flooded Madrid to join Thunberg's call for global action on climate change

communities. The message often fell on deaf ears. "People would just sort of say, 'Ah yeah, but that's not me,'" she tells TIME. "Having children say, 'We have no future' is far more effective. When children say something like that, adults feel very bad."

Cutting through the noise has earned Thunberg plenty of detractors. Some indigenous activists and organizers of color ask why a white European girl is being celebrated when they have been working on these same issues for decades. Thunberg herself sometimes appears frustrated at the media attention placed on her, and often goes out of her way to highlight other activists, especially indigenous ones. At a press conference in Madrid just before the mass march, she implores journalists to ask questions "not just to me," but to the other Fridays for Future organizers on stage with her. "What do you think?" she asks the others, in an effort to broaden the conversation.

Some traditional environmental groups have also complained that the radical success of a teenage girl playing hooky has overshadowed their less flashy efforts to write and pass meaningful legislation. "They want the needle moved too," says Rachel Kyte, dean of the Fletcher School at Tufts University and a veteran climate leader. "They would just want to be the ones that get the credit for moving it." On the record, no major environmental group would say anything remotely negative.

Some of her opponents have attacked her personally. Online trolls have made fun of her appearance and speech patterns. In Rome, someone hung her in effigy off a bridge under a sign reading GRETA IS YOUR GOD. In Alberta, the heart of Canada's oil-drilling region, police had to step in to protect her after she and her father were followed by men yelling, "This is oil country." Maxime Bernier, leader of the far-right People's Party of Canada, tweeted that Thunberg is "clearly mentally unstable." (He later walked back his criticism, calling her only a "pawn.") Russian President Vladimir Putin dismissed Thunberg entirely: "I don't share the common excitement," he said on a panel in October. President Donald Trump mocked her sarcastically on Twitter as "a very happy young girl looking forward to a bright and wonderful future." After she tweeted about the killings of indigenous people in Brazil, the country's President Jair Bolsonaro called her an insulting word that roughly translated to "little brat." Thunberg has taken those criticisms in stride: she has co-opted both Trump and Bolsonaro's ridicule for her Twitter bio.

It's not always easy. No one, and perhaps particularly a teenage girl, would like to have their looks and mannerisms mocked online. But for Thunberg, it's a daily reality. "I have to think carefully about everything I do, everything I say, what I'm wearing even, what I'm eating—everything!" she tells TIME during a train ride to Hamburg, Germany, last spring. "Everything I say will reach other people, so I need to think two steps ahead." Sitting next to her father, she scrolls past hateful comments—the head of a Swedish sportswear chain appeared to be mocking her Asperger's—then shrugs them off. So many people have made death threats against her family that she is now often protected by police when she travels. But for the most part, she sees the global backlash as evidence that the climate strikers have hit a nerve. "I think that it's a good sign actually," she says. "Because that shows we are actually making a difference and they see us as a threat."

7.6%

Percentage that greenhouse-gas emissions would need to fall every year for a decade to keep temperatures from rising more than 1.5°C by the end of the century

IT'S HARD to quantify the so-called Greta effect partly because it's mostly been manifest in promises and goals. But commitments count as progress when the climate conversation has been stuck in stasis for so long. In the U.S., Democrats have long given lip service to addressing global warming even as they prioritized other issues, while many Republicans have simply denied the science altogether. In countries now establishing a middle class, like China and India, leaders argue they should be allowed to burn fossil fuels because that's how their richer counterparts got ahead.

Those debates end up papering over what is an urgent challenge by nearly every measure. Keeping global temperature rise to 1.5°C would require elected officials to act both immediately and dramatically. In the developed world, a rapid transition away from fossil fuels could sharply raise gas and heating prices and disrupt industries that employ millions of people. In the global south, reducing emissions means rethinking key elements of how countries build their economies. Emissions would have to drop 7.6% on average every year for the next decade—a feat that, while scientifically possible, would require revolutionary changes.

But the needle is moving. *Fortune* 500 companies, facing major pressure to reduce their emissions, are realizing that sustainability makes for good PR. In June, the airline KLM launched a "Fly Responsibly" campaign, which encouraged customers to consider abstaining from non-essential air travel. In July, the head of OPEC, the cartel that controls much of the world's oil production, called climate strikers the "greatest threat" to his industry,

according to the AFP. In September, workers at Amazon, Facebook and other major companies walked out during the climate strikes. And in November, the president of Emirates airline told the BBC that the climate strikers helped him realize "we are not doing enough." In December, Klaus Schwab, the founder and CEO of the World Economic Forum, published a manifesto calling on global business leaders to embrace a more responsible form of capitalism that, among other things, forces companies to act "as a steward of the environmental and material universe for future generations."

Hans Vestberg, the CEO of the telecom giant Verizon, says that companies are feeling squeezed about climate from all sides. "It's growing from all the stakeholders," he says. "Our employees think about it much more, our customers are talking much more about it, and society is expecting us to show up."

Governments are making promises too. In the past year, more than 60 countries said they would eliminate their carbon footprints by 2050. Voters in Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Austria and Sweden—especially young people—now list climate change as their top priority. In May, green parties gained seats in the European Parliament from Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and more. Those victories helped push the new European Commission president to promise "a Green Deal" for Europe. In the U.S., a recent Washington *Post* poll found that more than three-quarters of Americans now consider climate change a "crisis" or a "major problem." Even Republican lawmakers who have long denied or dismissed climate science are taking note. In an interview with the Washington *Examiner,* Republican House minority leader Kevin McCarthy acknowledged that his party "should be a little bit nervous" about changing attitudes on climate.

At the individual level, ordinary people are following Thunberg's example. In Sweden, flying is increasingly seen as a wasteful emission of carbon—a change of attitude captured by a new word: *flygskam,* meaning "flight-shame." There was an 8% drop in domestic flights between January and April according to Swedavia, which runs the nation's airports, and Interrail ticket sales have tripled over the past two years. More than 19,000 people have signed a pledge swearing off air travel in 2020, and the German railway operator Deutsche Bahn reported a record number of passengers using its long-distance rail in the first six months of 2019. Swiss and Austrian railway operators also saw upticks on their night train services this year.

'ADULTS DIDN'T TAKE CARE OF THESE PROBLEMS, SO WE HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF THEM'

Jaclyn Corin,
March for Our Lives organizer

The Greta effect may be growing, but Thunberg herself remains unmoved. "One person stops flying doesn't make much difference," she says. "The thing we should look at is the emissions curve—it's still rising. Of course something is happening, but basically nothing is happening."

LAST SPRING, before she became a global icon, Thunberg enjoyed a semblance of calm and privacy. Now it's bedlam wherever she goes. On the night train from Lisbon, she hides in the on-board kitchen to escape the lenses of dozens of cameras; when she is finally able to sneak into her cabin, she uses the moment of peace to write in her journal. When her train arrives in Madrid the next morning, the platform is again packed cheek-to-jowl with television cameras and reporters. Before stepping off the train and facing the pack, she wonders out loud how she can navigate the chaos. Even after she makes it inside the U.N. climate summit, she's swarmed. Photographers jostle through throngs of teenagers in green face paint chanting "Gre-TA, Gre-TA!" while others erupt in a spirited call-and-response: "What do we want? Climate justice! When do we want it? Now!"

A few yards away from the commotion, in one of the official conference spaces, a speaker stands in front of a handful of other adults and chuckled. Behind her, a screen shows a PowerPoint presentation: "How do we empower young people in climate activism?"

Thunberg's lonely strike outside Sweden's Parliament coincided with a surge of mass youth protests that have erupted around the world—all in different places, with different impacts, but fueled by a changing social climate and shifting economic pressures. In Hong Kong, young activists concerned by Beijing's tightening grip on the territory sparked a furious pro-democracy movement that has been going strong since June. In Iraq and Lebanon, young people dominate sweeping demonstrations against corruption, foreign interference and sectarian governance. The Madrid climate summit was moved from Chile because of huge protests over economic inequality that were kicked off by high school students. And in the U.S., young organizers opposed the Trump Administration on everything from immigration to health care and helped elect a new wave of equally young lawmakers.

The common thread is outrage over a central injustice: young people know they are inheriting a world that will not work nearly as well as it did for the aging adults who have been running it. "It's so important to realize that we are challenging the systems we are in, and that is being led by young people," says Beth Irving, 17, who came from Wales to demonstrate for sweeping changes on climate policy outside the U.N. summit. Thunberg is not aligned with any of these non-climate youth movements, but her abrupt rise to prominence comes at a moment when young people across the globe are awakening to anger at being cut a raw deal.

The existential issue of climate puts everyone at risk, but the younger you are, the greater the stakes. The scale of addressing climate change—the systemic transformation of economic, social and political systems—animates young progressives already keen to remake the world. Karin Watson, 22, who came to the climate summit

The World Tour

Thunberg has urged leaders and influencers to commit to climate action (from left to right):

1. CHRISTINE LAGARDE

Shaking hands with then managing director of the International Monetary Fund in January

2. AL GORE

Meeting with the former Vice President in 2018

3. JUSTIN TRUDEAU

Delivering her message to the Canadian Prime Minister in September

as part of a delegation from Amnesty International Chile, describes a tumultuous, interconnected and youth-led "social explosion" worldwide. She cannot disentangle her own advocacy for higher wages from women's rights and climate: "This social crisis is also an ecological crisis—it's related," she says. "In the end, it's intersectional: the most vulnerable communities are the most vulnerable to climate change."

In the U.S., Jaclyn Corin, 19, one of the original organizers of the March for Our Lives anti-gun violence movement, framed the challenges at stake. "We can't let these problems continue on for future generations to take care of," she says. "Adults didn't take care of these problems, so we have to take care of them, and not be like older generations in their complacency."

These disparate youth movements are beginning to see some wins. In Hong Kong, after months of sometimes-violent protests by young people resisting Beijing's authoritarian rule, the pro-democracy parties won major victories in the local elections in November. In the U.K., young people are poised to become one of the most decisive voting blocs, and political battle lines are drawn by age as well as class. One poll shows that more than half of British voters say the climate crisis will influence their votes in the coming elections; among younger voters, it's three-quarters. In Switzerland, the two environmentalist parties saw their best results ever in the elections in October, and much of that support came from young people who were voting for the first time. In the U.S., the Sunrise activists have helped make climate change a central campaign issue in the 2020 presidential election. In September, the top 10 candidates for the Democratic nomination participated in a first-of-its-kind prime-time town hall on the issue.

"Young people tend to have a fantastic impact in public opinion around the world," U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres told TIME. "Governments follow."

On Dec. 6, the tens of thousands of people flooding into Madrid to demonstrate for climate action pour off trains and buses and sweep in great waves through the heart of the city. Above their heads, the wind carries furious messages—MERRY CRISIS AND A HAPPY NEW FEAR; YOU WILL DIE OF OLD AGE, I WILL DIE OF CLIMATE CHANGE—and the thrum of chants and drumming rise like thunder through the streets. A group of young women and teenage girls from Spain's chapter of Fridays for Future escort Thunberg slowly from a nearby press conference to the march, linking their arms to create a human shield. Once again, Thunberg was the calm in the eye of a hurricane: buffeted and lifted by the surging crowd, cacophonous and furious but also strangely joyful.

It takes them an hour just to reach the main demonstration. When Thunberg finally approaches the stage, she climbs in her Velcro shoes to a microphone and begins to speak. The drums fall silent, and thousands lean in to listen. "The change is going to come from the people demanding action," she says, "and that is us." From where she stands, she can see in every direction. The view is of a vast sea of young people from nations all over the world, the great force of them surging and cresting, ready to rise. —*With reporting by* CIARA NUGENT/COPENHAGEN; DAN STEWART *and* VIVIENNE WALT/PARIS

4. POPE FRANCIS
Greeting Pope Francis at the Vatican in April

5. BARACK OBAMA
Fist-bumping former President Barack Obama in his personal office in September

6. ELLEN DEGENERES
Appearing on *Ellen* to discuss climate change in November

LAGARDE, TRUDEAU: AP; GORE, POPE FRANCIS: COURTESY OF GRETA THUNBERG; OBAMA: OBAMA FOUNDATION; DEGENERES: NBC

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVGENIA ARBUGAEVA FOR TIME

‘WE ARE IN THE BEGINNING OF A MASS EXTINCTION, AND ALL YOU CAN TALK ABOUT IS MONEY AND FAIRY TALES OF ETERNAL ECONOMIC GROWTH . . . HOW DARE YOU’

Greta Thunberg,
during the U.N. General Assembly

GUARDIANS OF THE YEAR

The Public Servants

SERVING COUNTRY

OVER SELF

By Massimo Calabresi, Vera Bergengruen and Simon Shuster

THERE ARE 363,000 FEDERAL WORKERS IN THE GREATER Washington, D.C., area. In the first week of September, history turned in the office of one of them. The intelligence analyst who blew the whistle on President Donald Trump had just gotten off the phone with the Inspector General's office. One of a handful of people who had read the analyst's report alleging that Trump had solicited foreign interference in the 2020 election, the Inspector General had found the analyst's concerns "urgent" and "credible." But there was a problem: higher-ups in the intelligence community had spoken to the White House. Both were blocking the IG from sending the complaint to Congress.

There is a particular kind of silence in the offices of the intelligence community. The buildings have multipaned windows with special protective coatings that prevent eavesdropping so virtually all exterior noise is blocked. There are few conversations in the carpeted hallways—people mind their own business—and everyone ensures their phone calls cannot be overheard. Amid the ambient hum of HVAC systems and the occasional ringing of an elevator bell, the atmosphere is one of monastic isolation. Sitting alone in that

SCULPTURE BY SU BLACKWELL FOR TIME

25 July Presidential
UNCLASSIFIED

silence, the analyst asked, "What do I do now?"

The law provides one answer. In 2014, Congress added a paragraph to the statute that created the role of intelligence community Inspector General. "An individual who has submitted a complaint or information to the Inspector General," it reads, "may notify any member of either of the Congressional intelligence committees, or a staff member of either of such committees."

For the analyst, it wasn't an easy call. The attempt to block the complaint had upped the stakes. What would happen if the analyst came forward? Whistle-blowers are protected from retaliation by law, but President Trump had attacked government officials before, and his supporters were even more threatening. Congress was its own minefield. Republicans on the Hill had backed Trump on Russia, the analyst's area of expertise. Democrats, for their part, were looking for an edge in the 2020 election and might turn a government employee, like the whistle-blower, into one.

But multiple people had told the analyst that during a July 25 phone call, the President had "sought to pressure" his Ukrainian counterpart to dig up dirt on political rivals and pursue a debunked conspiracy theory about the 2016 election. The analyst believed that Trump was using the sovereign power of the American presidency in an attempt to stay in office. It was an affront to democracy, the whistle-blower decided. There was only one ethical choice—going to Congress and telling the truth.

As it turned out, the analyst was not alone. For much of 2019, in different corners of America's globe-spanning national-security apparatus, more than a dozen public servants reported concerns to their superiors about the President's handling of Ukraine. They were diplomats and policy wonks, budget crunchers and combat veterans. Most had acted alone, largely unaware of what was happening elsewhere in government. None knew until much later how far things had gone. Each had played by the rules, putting professionalism and public service ahead of their own policy preference. Each had been ignored or quashed by political bosses up the chain of command.

The analyst's actions helped launch a fast-moving congressional investigation that brought the dissent to light. The rush of revelations that has followed paints a damning portrait of the President's use, and abuse, of power. The public servants who came forward provided the foundation for the articles of impeachment against Trump that are expected to be approved by the U.S. House of Representatives before Christmas. That vote would set up a Senate trial with the possibility, albeit remote, that Trump could become the first President removed from office for violating the Constitution and the law.

Yet how things play out for these once unknown federal employees may be as important, if not more so. Even before we had a Constitution, we had protections for public servants who report abuses of power. "It is the duty of all persons in the service of the United States," the Continental Congress resolved on July 30, 1778, in the middle of the Revolution, "to give the earliest information to Congress or any other proper authority of any misconduct, frauds or misdemeanors committed by any officers or persons in the service of these states."

JENNIFER WILLIAMS

Special adviser to the Vice President for Europe and Russia

A foreign-service officer detailed to Pence's office last spring, Williams testified about the July 25 call between Trump and Zelensky.

PREVIOUS PAGES: PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN REYNOLDS

As he fights back against impeachment, Trump is testing that principle, collapsing the space for dissent. Arguing that Congress is abusing its authority, Trump loyalists have continued their efforts to block the airing of public servants' concerns. Recasting the balance of power that has existed between Congress and the White House since Watergate, Trump ordered all Executive Branch employees not to testify in the impeachment inquiry. For more than two months, he has attacked the public servants as "traitors" and "human scum." At the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, he suggested the proper response to the whistle-blower's complaint was the punishment historically reserved for "spies" and for "treason": the death penalty.

The public servants came forward to tell their stories anyway. In Kyiv, the 33-year veteran diplomat Marie Yovanovitch, known as Masha, was one of the first to see Trump's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, advancing what she would later conclude was a personal political mission for the President. After she was yanked from the job, her successor, Ambassador William Taylor, a Vietnam veteran with 50 years' experience in government, questioned the efforts to pressure Ukraine to dig up dirt on Trump's potential opponent in the 2020 election, former Vice President Joe Biden. At the White House, Trump's top Russia expert, Fiona Hill, uncovered and then reported what she later realized was a "domestic political errand." Hill's Ukraine expert on the National Security Council (NSC), Lieut. Colonel Alexander Vindman, witnessed the July 25 call and raised alarms. In the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the fiscal boiler room of the federal government, 15-year senior civil servant Mark Sandy struggled to reconcile Congress' lawful provision of military aid to Ukraine with Trump's orders to withhold it, and raised legal concerns with his superior.

For each, the decision to step forward came at a cost. None expected to become household names or to find their faces on televisions across the country night after night. And though each followed the rules and used the proper channels, some have found themselves vilified online, their decades of government service impugned and their background questioned. Several have been assailed publicly by the President.

At first, none would speak with TIME for this article, citing a mix of fear of retribution and a reluctance to be seen as glory seekers. Eventually some agreed to share their stories in interviews, either directly or through intermediaries. Several became emotional when speaking about what they described as the most difficult weeks of their careers. Some expressed concern about the impact on their families and colleagues; some fear for their own safety. The story that emerges—based on scores of interviews in Washington and Kyiv, and a review of thousands of pages of depositions, communications and other documents—provides an inside view of the historic events that unfolded this year.

In shouldering the 241-year principle of speaking truth before the American people, each performed a duty. The first day on the job, every federal employee takes an oath, swearing to the same promise the President-elect

LIEUT. COLONEL ALEXANDER VINDMAN

Director for European affairs, National Security Council

Vindman emigrated from Ukraine at age 3 and became an expert in U.S. policy toward the former Soviet Union. After Trump's July 25 call, he reported his concerns to White House lawyers.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

pledges on the West Front of the Capitol: to defend the Constitution. The courage they summoned was not to break the law, but to follow it.

IT WAS A WEDNESDAY NIGHT in April at the Kyiv residence of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, a brick and stucco mansion that sits close enough to the Orthodox church next door that you could hear the choir. Guests passed through the columns of the portico to greet America's top diplomat in the country, Marie Yovanovitch. She was hosting an event to honor a young anticorruption activist killed last year in an attack with sulfuric acid. But even as she greeted top members of the newly elected government of President Volodymyr Zelensky, she kept getting calls urging her to return immediately to the embassy to talk to the State Department in Washington on a secure line.

Slipping out of the event at 9 p.m. while the guests were still mingling, she made the 30-minute drive to her office in the walled embassy compound. After being told to stand by for important news in a first call with Washington, she worked at her desk until she received a second at 1 a.m. Her urgent, unexplained orders: take the next flight back to Washington. The order was so abrupt that Yovanovitch did not have time to organize the trip home for her then 90-year-old mother, who had been living with her at the residence in Kyiv.

A veteran diplomat who had served from Mogadishu to Moscow, Yovanovitch had known something murky was afoot. In February, a senior Ukrainian official had told her he had been rebuffing repeated attempts by Giuliani to discuss investigations into Democrats and the 2016 election. At some point, Giuliani and his associates decided Yovanovitch was also an obstacle to those aims. The official, Interior Minister Arsen Avakov, told her two Giuliani associates were telling people that she should be replaced and warned her to watch her back. Other Ukrainian officials seemed to be starting to treat Giuliani, not Yovanovitch, as the U.S. representative in Ukraine.

By March, the campaign against her had broken into the open. Ukraine's then Prosecutor General, Yuriy Lutsenko, had alleged in an interview with a U.S. publication that Yovanovitch had given him a "do not prosecute" list during their first meeting in 2016. Lutsenko later retracted the claim, but Trump himself promoted the story on social media. In late March, Donald Trump Jr. attacked her on Twitter, calling her a "joker."

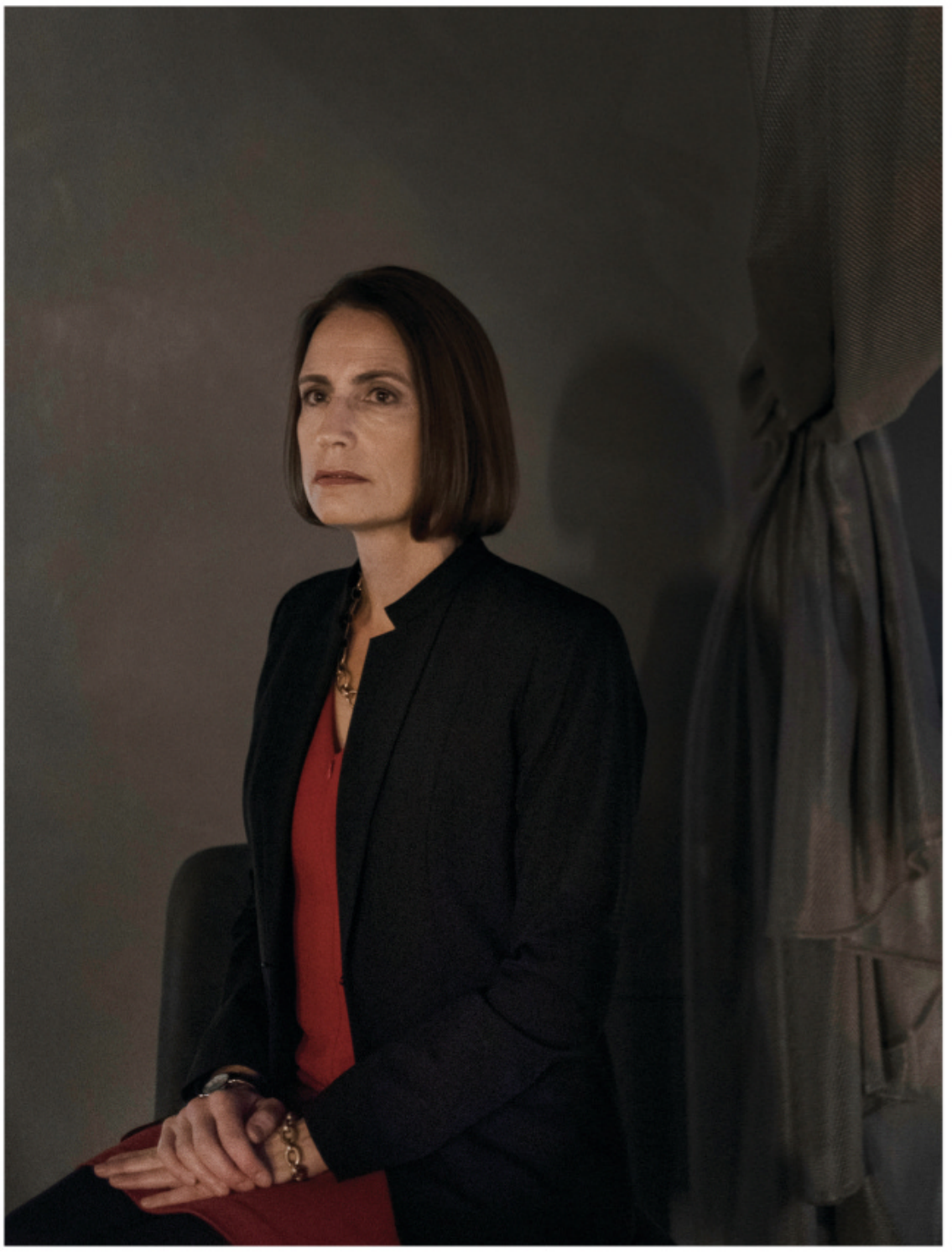
Concerned that her credibility was being

PAOLO VERZONE—VU FOR TIME

DAVID HOLMES

Counselor for political affairs, U.S. embassy in Ukraine

As an embassy staffer in Ukraine, Holmes became one of the few direct witnesses to Trump's effort to investigate political rivals when he overheard Ambassador Gordon Sondland's phone conversation with the President during a lunch in Kyiv.



FIONA HILL

Trump's former top Russia adviser

The former top Russia expert on the National Security Council, Hill witnessed Trump allies applying pressure on Ukrainian officials to open investigations into the President's political opponents in exchange for a coveted White House meeting.

undermined, Yovanovitch sent an email on the State Department's classified system. She told her bosses about Giuliani's shadow negotiations with Ukrainian officials and the smear campaign against her, and urged a statement of support. It never came. Less than a month later, she was on a plane back to the U.S.

In Washington, there was at least one person Yovanovitch trusted enough to tell about her mysterious recall: her potential replacement, Ambassador William Taylor, a decorated veteran and mentor to a generation of foreign-service officers. When they met in his office overlooking the Lincoln Memorial, Taylor closed the interior blinds of the glass-walled room to let Yovanovitch talk freely, eyes welling with tears as she told the story. One of her deepest regrets was the way she had been forced to leave the embassy staff without really saying goodbye or explaining the reasons for her sudden departure, she told people close to her.

Even before that, Taylor had concerns about taking over in Kyiv, where he had served as U.S. ambassador from 2006 to 2009. A strong believer in helping the country fight back against Russia, which had invaded it in 2014, he worried that President Trump "has a special place in his heart for Putin," says one person familiar with Taylor's thinking. As he observed Giuliani's shadow diplomacy, Taylor decided to consult one of his mentors, Stephen Hadley, who served as National Security Adviser under President George W. Bush. Hadley told Taylor what he had told others weighing public service under the Trump Administration: only do it if you believe you can be effective. To know, Taylor needed to talk to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who was pushing him to return.

On May 28, Taylor met with Pompeo in the Secretary's antique-filled office on "Mahogany Row," the seventh-floor sanctum of State Department leadership. Taylor "pointed out that the President did not like Ukraine," according to two people who attended the meeting. To Taylor's surprise, Pompeo agreed, but said he would attempt to change Trump's feelings. Most important, he assured Taylor that U.S. policy in Ukraine would remain unchanged: America would back Ukraine with military and financial support and resolute opposition to Moscow. One of Pompeo's top aides told Taylor, "Look, Bill, call me anytime if you've got questions or problems [and] I can check with the Secretary," he testified.

Taylor's wife Deborah, a biblical scholar, had serious doubts. She had known her husband's idealism to shade, on occasion, into naiveté, and she had seen other officials unwittingly

compromise themselves while in the service of the Trump Administration. She feared that in his eagerness to be effective in Ukraine, Taylor might also be pressured to cross a moral line that would embarrass and anger the people who loved him. Taylor accepted the job over Deborah's objections.

He learned through media reports in May that Giuliani was asking to meet with the new Ukrainian administration and was urging Zelensky to launch investigations into Trump's rivals. He became more alarmed after a June 28 conference call with Zelensky. Also on the call was Gordon Sondland, a hotelier and Trump donor the President had named U.S. ambassador to the European Union, who before the call told everyone on the line he "wanted to make sure no one was transcribing or monitoring" the conversation. Taylor testified that he "sensed something odd" when Sondland did not include the career officials back in Washington who would typically have been on such a call. Before Zelensky joined the line, Taylor also heard other political appointees discussing the need to relay that Trump wanted "cooperation on investigations to get to the bottom of things," he told lawmakers.

THE WITNESSES

Hill and Holmes testified to House lawmakers about Trump's pressure campaign in Kyiv

Taylor repeatedly phoned the Pompeo aide who had urged him to get in touch if he had any questions for the Secretary, but did not get clarity from Washington. "I was starting to get suspicious," Taylor later testified, so at the end of June he reached out to a colleague in Washington, George Kent, who urged him to write everything down. Taylor already was. His father, a former official at NASA, had taught his son the habit of taking meticulous notes. After every meeting or phone call, the diplomat would scrawl the details in tiny script inside his 3-by-5 in. notebooks, which he kept with him in a brown leather wallet.

BACK IN WASHINGTON, suspicions were also spreading. At the NSC, one of the first to raise alarms was Fiona Hill, Trump's top expert on Russia and Europe. With a staff of overworked experts, Hill had been scrambling for two years to manage the chaos of Trump's diplomacy. Random, high-profile people would call her at her ornate, high-ceilinged office across

from the West Wing and sometimes show up at the White House, unannounced, with guests in tow. On far-right blogs, Hill had been called a mole for liberal billionaire George Soros or the anonymous aide responsible for a scathing anti-Trump op-ed in the New York *Times*. Her job seemed to entail constantly swimming upstream against an onrushing current of pending disasters.

In this environment, reports of Giuliani making mischief in Ukraine seemed like a sideshow, one of many weird subplots stirred up by Trumpworld's fringe players. Then, on July 10, Sondland and several top Ukrainian diplomats met with Hill and her boss, National Security Adviser John Bolton, in Bolton's corner office in the West Wing. Amid the choreographed talk of U.S. support for Ukraine in its fight against Russia, Sondland, the E.U. ambassador, blurted out something off-script: the Ukrainians would get their White House meeting only if they opened the investigations Trump wanted. Bolton stiffened in his chair, checked his watch and called the meeting to a halt.

For Hill, it was a eureka moment. Giuliani's political mischief-making and Sondland's demand for investigations were part of a shadow foreign policy that subjugated America's stated support for Ukraine to Trump's 2020 interests. Bolton, a Russia hawk, was livid, Hill testified. Sondland moved to take the Ukrainian officials down to the Ward Room, a small windowless space in the basement of the West Wing near the Situation Room. Bolton pulled Hill aside and instructed her "to go downstairs, find out what was being discussed and to come right back up and report it to him," Hill later recalled in her testimony.

As she walked into the Ward Room, Hill heard Sondland telling the Ukrainians that he had an agreement with Trump's chief of staff, Mick Mulvaney, that would grant Zelensky a White House meeting in exchange for opening the investigations. Hill asked the Ukrainian officials to leave the room, then chastised Sondland for his "inappropriate" demands. She went back upstairs to report to Bolton. His instructions made such an impression that she recounted them to Congress from memory, months later: "You go and tell [the National Security Council's top lawyer John] Eisenberg that I am not part of whatever drug deal Sondland and Mulvaney are cooking up on this." Sondland and his lawyer declined to comment on the record.

Hill wasn't the only one who reported Sondland's offer. The NSC's Ukraine expert, Vindman, had come forward too. Vindman had immigrated to the U.S. from the then Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1979, when he was 3, and had served in the U.S. Army for two decades, doing tours as an infantry officer in South Korea, Germany and Iraq, where he was wounded by a roadside bomb and awarded the Purple Heart. Vindman felt it was his responsibility to tell Eisenberg what he had seen. "I was reporting something to the chain of command," he told lawmakers Oct. 29. "What he did with that information is probably above my pay grade." Eisenberg took notes and told him to bring any future concerns to him.

Two weeks later, Vindman did. Around 9:03 a.m. on July 25, Trump began his now infamous call with Zelensky. Vindman and Jennifer Williams, Vice President Mike Pence's adviser on Europe and Russia, were official note takers on the call, and they and around four other officials were listening in from the Situation Room as Trump dialed in from the residence. Almost as soon as Trump started talking, Vindman became uneasy.

Vindman had drafted the President's talking points, but as he scribbled furiously in one of the government-issue notebooks he regularly used, he could hear Trump going off script. Trump said, "I would like you to do us a favor," and then launched into a list of troubling requests. The President asked Zelensky to investigate a debunked conspiracy theory that Ukraine, not Russia, had meddled in the 2016 U.S. election. "The other thing," Trump said. "There's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution." He asked Zelensky to look into it.

Like Hill, Vindman had a eureka moment. It was suddenly clear to him that rather than support an ally in a shooting war against Russia, Trump was using Kyiv's desperate position to pressure Zelensky to smear a possible 2020 opponent. Vindman brought his notebook to Eisenberg, the NSC lawyer, and read him through the call, underscoring the points where Trump appeared to solicit interference in the 2020 campaign. Eisenberg took everything down on a yellow notepad. Later that week, Eisenberg came back to Vindman and told him "not to talk to anybody else" about the matter, he testified. An NSC spokesperson declined to comment.

The day after Trump's call with Zelensky, Sondland took three embassy staffers, including counselor on political affairs David Holmes, to lunch at an upscale Kyiv restaurant known for its appetizer of black caviar on thin savory pancakes. Sitting on the terrace within earshot of the street, Sondland ordered a steak with

'DO NOT WORRY. I WILL BE FINE FOR TELLING THE TRUTH'

Alexander Vindman, in congressional testimony

red wine as the group shared a dish of Ukrainian dumplings. Sondland kept looking at his watch. At 6:30 a.m., D.C. time, he reached for his phone, tapped its screen and said, "Gordon Sondland, calling for the President."

When the President came on, Sondland said, in a big, booming voice, "Good morning, Mr. President." Sondland winced and held the phone as the President responded equally loudly. "So, he's going to do the investigations?" Trump said. "Oh, yeah, he's going to do it," Sondland responded. "He'll do anything you ask him to do." Across the table, Holmes took out his own phone and began to tap out notes on the conversation.

After hanging up, Sondland declared to the table that Trump "did not give a sh-t about Ukraine," but only about "big stuff" like "the Biden investigation that Mr. Giuliani was pushing," Holmes later testified. Holmes told his supervisor later that day about what he had overheard. Inside the embassy word began to spread: the President was pressing for a Biden investigation before he would help the new Ukrainian government.

WILLIAM TAYLOR
Chargé d'affaires

A 50-year public servant and backer of Ukraine in its war with Russia, Taylor worried that more Ukrainians would die without the military aid that Trump had blocked.

AND THE UKRAINIANS were growing desperate. Since 2014, when Russia invaded and illegally annexed the peninsula of Crimea, more than 13,000 Ukrainians had been killed in Europe's only active war. Kyiv had come to rely on the roughly $1.5 billion in security assistance and military aid and equipment provided by the U.S. since the start of the war. The support had evolved from armored vehicles, night vision and radar equipment under President Barack Obama to grenade launchers and antitank missiles under Trump.

Zelensky raised the issue during the July 25 call, and his exchange with Trump had been pleasant. But across the river at the Pentagon that day, in the office in charge of Ukraine policy, led by 20-year civil servant Laura Cooper, they were fielding concerned emails. Ukrainian officials wanted to know why military aid approved by Congress had been frozen. Zelensky took these concerns all the way up to Pence roughly six weeks later during a meeting in Warsaw.

"We honestly said, 'O.K., that's bad. What's going on here?'" recalls Andriy Yermak, the adviser Zelensky entrusted to deal with the Americans. "We were told that they would figure it out," Yermak says. But no one at either the State or Defense Departments could provide clarity.

The answer lay inside the keeper of the federal government's purse strings, the OMB. While top political appointees get fancy offices like Hill's across from the West Wing, many civil servants, including those in OMB's National Security Division, are up the street in a hulking '60s-era brick and glass New Executive Office Building. The drab accommodations belie the high-stakes work that happens there: moving the money that pays for the entirety of the $700 billion U.S. military, parceling out black-budget dollars for covert operations and funding numerous lower-profile programs, including military aid to Ukraine. The division is headed by Mark Sandy, a graduate of Oxford and the Naval War College, 21-year Navy reservist and veteran of a tour of duty in Afghanistan.

On July 18, a Trump political appointee informed Sandy that the President had put a hold on nearly $400 million in aid that Congress had committed to providing Ukraine in fiscal year 2019. When he asked why, Sandy couldn't get an answer, but word from higher-ups was that the order came from the President himself. OMB officials pride themselves on nonpartisanship, and Sandy's division set about making the directive happen.

The first challenge was that Pentagon lawyers said holding up the aid could be legally problematic. Congress required that the money be spent before the end of September, and the process of getting it out the door could take many weeks. Sandy found a way to stall for time by adding a footnote to the spending order that temporarily paused payment. He explained the need for the workaround to his chain of command, signaling that there could

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THE HOUSE

Democrats used the testimony of the public servants as the basis for articles of impeachment introduced on Dec. 10

be legal issues and urging them to consult the OMB's lawyers. Then, on July 30, the Trump political appointee took over control of the aid himself: something no one in the division remembers happening before. By mid-August, as the end of the fiscal year approached, the Pentagon lawyers were growing increasingly concerned about how to lawfully implement a lengthy hold.

In the U.S. embassy in Ukraine, officials grew baffled too. During a secure teleconference on July 18, an OMB official made clear to embassy staff that the aid was frozen. Taylor and his aides sat in astonishment. Eight days later, Taylor traveled to the war zone in eastern Ukraine. A local commander showed him a damaged bridge stretching across the front line toward Russian forces, close enough to see the glint of their binoculars. It happened to be the commander's birthday, and he thanked his American guest for the aid that had been so vital in deterring a Russian attack. Embarrassed and uncomfortable, Taylor thought to himself, "More Ukrainians would undoubtedly die without the U.S. assistance."

The following month, Taylor did something he had never done in his half-century in government service: send a cable directly to the Secretary of State. The diplomat described "the 'folly' I saw in withholding military aid to Ukraine at a time when hostilities were still active in the east and when Russia was watching closely to gauge the level of American support for the Ukrainian government." He never received a reply. The State Department did not respond to requests for comment.

At the White House, the dissent was beginning to be felt. Eisenberg had fielded complaints from at least four national-security officers alleging that the President was leveraging Ukraine policy in potentially illegal ways. White House counsel Pat Cipollone's office had learned of the intelligence analyst's concerns soon after Trump's July 25 call. In late August, Eisenberg and Cipollone met with Trump about the whistle-blower's complaint. There is no public account of the meeting, and the White House declined to provide comment. But one thing is clear: Trump did not back down.

Neither did the public servants. On Sept. 9, soon after the analyst's phone call with the Inspector General's office, a lawyer for the

THE SENATE

GOP leader Mitch McConnell, center, addresses impeachment ahead of a likely trial in January

analyst, Andrew Bakaj, hand-delivered the letter informing the House Intelligence Committee of the complaint's existence. The next day, the committee's Democratic chairman, Adam Schiff, wrote the Acting Director of National Intelligence, demanding he release the complaint, and was rebuffed. The Director of National Intelligence later testified that the White House counsel had told him he could not release the whistle-blower's complaint to Congress because it was covered by executive privilege. Schiff went public. Facing a subpoena, the DNI finally released the complaint to Congress on Sept. 25.

FIONA HILL FIRST HEARD the news at the airport in Newark after arriving from an extended visit to her native England, a long-awaited break after her previously scheduled July 19 departure from the White House. Her flight had no wi-fi, and as she scrolled through news stories that noted Congress wanted to hear from "current and former" Administration officials involved in the Ukraine matter, she knew her brief respite from the chaos of the Trump Administration was over.

During the following weeks, key House committees set out on an official impeachment inquiry, requesting testimony from officials ranging from Vindman and Sandy to Pompeo, Mulvaney and Sondland. Trump's political appointees fought back. In an Oct. 1 letter, Pompeo called Democrats' requests to depose five current and former State officials "an attempt to intimidate, bully, and treat improperly, the distinguished professionals of the Department of State." When the committees sought testimony from Laura Cooper, one of the Defense Department officials who had grappled with Trump's suspension of military aid, one of her political bosses sent a note reminding her of the Administration-wide direction that Executive Branch personnel "cannot participate in [the impeachment] inquiry under these circumstances."

The public servants made up their own minds. One of the remarkable aspects about their efforts—from Ukraine hands like Marie Yovanovitch and Bill Taylor to more obscure government employees like the analyst or Mark Sandy—is that as deeply as they may have felt about the dangers of the President's

actions, they observed their duty as nonpartisan members of the Executive Branch. None of them broke the rules to try to counter him.

But the whistle-blower's decision to bring the facts to Congress transformed a battle over the legality and propriety of Trump's actions into a clash of checks and balances. Presidents have long negotiated with investigators over their subpoenas. The Trump White House was using the fight over Ukraine to try and shift the balance of power back to where it was before Congress forced Richard Nixon from office.

The Watergate scandal, and the morass of illegal activities it uncovered in government, also spurred expanded federal protections for government employees who speak up about wrongdoing. With the Inspector General Act of 1978 and subsequent amendments, Congress created "permanent, nonpartisan and independent offices in more than 70 federal agencies" whose job is to "combat waste, fraud and abuse." The 1989 Whistleblower Protection Act protects government officials from retaliation if they disclose evidence of government wrongdoing, including to Inspectors General. Members of the intelligence community were not provided a legal method of submitting whistle-blower complaints until 1998.

Massive leaks of secrets prompted updates. In 2010, Chelsea Manning uploaded to WikiLeaks a vast trove of classified documents. Three years later, Edward Snowden downloaded and leaked information about the National Security Agency's expansive eavesdropping techniques. Afterward, the U.S. government attempted to increase the penalties for those who leaked classified documents directly to the public—while also increasing protections for those who play by the rules. "That's what's so significant about the Ukrainian case," says whistle-blower attorney Stephen Kohn. "Congress specifically said, If you want to be protected under this law, you raise your concerns this way."

So what are the stakes of the Ukraine affair? Whether America still provides safeguards for lawful dissent, in an era when the President seems to mistake public servants for personal employees, and cozies up to the leaders of countries where dissent itself is illegal. If events go badly for the analyst, future whistleblowers may not dare to come forward. Meanwhile, the question of whether or not to testify has placed the public servants at nothing less than the fulcrum on which the balance of power between Congress and the White House will rest in the post-Trump era.

'RUSSIAN SECURITY'

Fiona Hill, in congressional testimony

'A FICTIONAL NARRATIVE PERPETRATED BY

SITTING IN *TIME*'S Washington bureau not far from the White House, one official, on the verge of tears, called the past few weeks the most difficult of a long career, with the scrutiny affecting family and colleagues. Others aren't through it yet. Jennifer Williams, the career foreign-service officer detailed to Vice President Pence's office, remains embroiled in the congressional investigation. Democrats, seeking evidence the Trump Administration tried to cover up the Ukraine gambit, want to know about a call between Pence and Zelensky on Sept. 18. Williams is cooperating against the White House's wishes.

Several of the career officials who spoke to TIME said they had agonized over the decision to testify, even behind closed doors, where the Intelligence Committee first heard witnesses. These officials had served both Republican and Democratic Administrations and wanted to continue to do so. Though called to establish facts, they worried they would be seen as partisan and perhaps damage their careers and those of their staff.

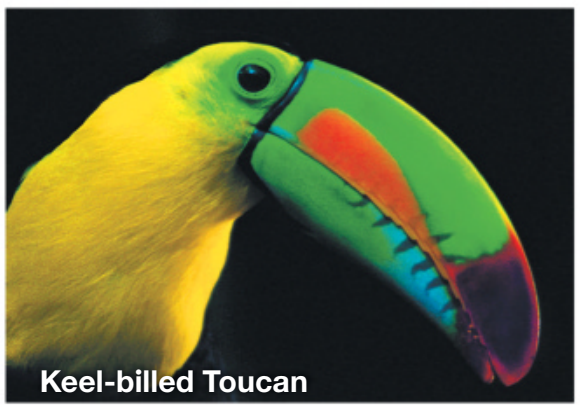
After the President's public attacks on Yovanovitch and Taylor, others lived in fear of a Trump tweet. The official White House account posted a tweet questioning Vindman's judgment. Hill received death threats ahead of her hearings. Taylor's wife worried that a far-right extremist might show up at their home in Virginia with a gun.

The White House didn't respond to requests for comment for this story. It has dismissed the career civil servants as "radical unelected bureaucrats" engaged in a "coordinated smear campaign" with Democrats. Some Republicans spoke out on their behalf. Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming was particularly vocal in her defense of Vindman.

For many Americans, the testimony of these public servants was a rare glimpse of the career officials Trump tends to deride as the "deep state." In hearings this fall, the spotlight fell not just on steady ambassadors, but on previously anonymous analysts, bureaucrats and department aides, a group of women and men who personify public service.

Viewers saw Vindman, an immigrant in full military uniform, recount a remarkable life story that had led to the White House. "Dad, my sitting here today in the U.S. Capitol talking to our elected officials is proof that you made the right decision 40 years ago to leave the Soviet Union and come here to the United States of America in search of a better life for our family," he said. "Do not worry. I will be fine for telling the truth."

Manuel Antonio National Park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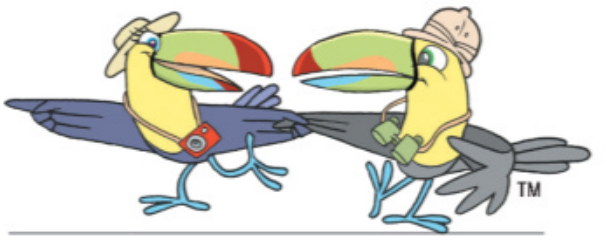

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They heard Yovanovitch describe being publicly smeared. They saw Taylor rebut misinformation with dates and facts preserved in his notebooks. And they saw Hill dismantle the notion that Ukraine had meddled in the 2016 election, as a "fictional narrative that has been perpetrated and propagated by the Russian security services themselves." Her commanding defense of U.S. policy led online fans to print T-shirts: DR. FIONA HILL FAN CLUB: FIERCE, FOCUSED, FEARLESS.

As Congress proceeds, they are going about their lives. In Kyiv, Taylor, Holmes, Kent and another colleague who spoke out, Phil Reeker, are attempting to get U.S. policy back on track, even as Giuliani continues to meet with conspiracy theorists in Kyiv. Vindman goes to work every day at the Eisenhower building. Some, like OMB official Sandy, felt immense relief at getting through the ordeal, and just want to return to everyday business, a former colleague tells TIME. Others, like Hill and Yovanovitch, began to be recognized on the street. Hill was surprised to receive a flood of letters of support from across the country. Two days after testifying, Yovanovitch received a standing ovation after she was recognized at a Washington jazz club.

For the intelligence analyst, life is uneasy. The President continues to answer bad news about impeachment by tweeting, "Where's the Whistleblower." Initially, the analyst planned to testify in person, but as some Republicans backed the push to unmask their client, Bakaj and another lawyer on the case, Mark Zaid, advised against it. The identity of the analyst remains undisclosed, but some Trump supporters are issuing threats. Bakaj and Zaid declined to comment about the whistle-blower's safety; both attorneys say they have themselves received death threats that are being investigated by the FBI. The return to work has been a solace for the analyst. There have been no signs of retaliation there. Colleagues who may speculate never mention it and, if anything, go out of their way to be solicitous.

The taxpayer-funded workplace is, in many ways, what the Ukraine crisis brought into the foreground. There are nearly 22 million federal, state and local government employees in America, and they provide windows into the people's business. Consider the career Internal Revenue Service official who in July alleged that a political appointee at the Treasury Department made "inappropriate efforts to influence" the audit of either Mike Pence's or Trump's tax returns. Or the now former U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services asylum officer who refused to conduct asylum interviews under a new policy being challenged in court as a violation of migrants' humanitarian protections.

They are part of a long tradition. In 2007, Marine Corps official Franz Gayl raised concerns about delivery delays of mine-resistant tactical vehicles to Iraq. In 1960, FDA drug reviewer Frances Kelsey saved thousands of American babies from birth defects by standing up to pharmaceutical companies to block the sale of thalidomide in the U.S. And in 1777, 10 American sailors and Marines accused the Continental Navy's most powerful man, Esek Hopkins, of torturing British prisoners of war, only to be sued by him for libel and then defended by the framers of our democracy.

The idea that government can be dangerous is encoded in the DNA of America, and so is the remedy: a tradition of dissent that holds the powerful to account. In the Trump era, amid virulent partisanship and calls for blind loyalty, it can often seem the space for dissent is shrinking. The fate of the public servants caught up in the Ukraine saga remains uncertain. Whatever Congress does with impeachment, the treatment of those who kept their oath will answer one essential question, asked in offices around the country: "What do I do now?" —*With reporting by* ABIGAIL ABRAMS *and* LESLIE DICKSTEIN/NEW YORK *and* LISSA AUGUST, BRIAN BENNETT, TESSA BERENSON, ABBY VESOULIS and JOHN WALCOTT/WASHINGTON ◻

MARIE YOVANOVITCH
Ambassador

A career foreign-service officer with stints in Somalia and Russia, Yovanovitch was the target of a smear campaign advanced by Trump and his allies.

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ATHLETE OF THE YEAR

The U.S. Women's Soccer Team

CHAMPIONS WHO SHOWED THE WORLD WHAT THEY'RE WORTH

By Sean Gregory

IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN FIVE MONTHS SINCE THE U.S. WOMEN'S soccer team won the World Cup, and yet barely a day goes by that Megan Rapinoe doesn't hear about it from strangers. A young girl at a soccer clinic. A middle-aged man at an airport. Parents the world over via social media. No matter who or where, the topic is always the same: how the team changed a life.

A trophy—even for the world's most prestigious soccer tournament—rarely alters the life of someone who didn't win it. Nor does a game played in summer tend to generate dinner-table discussions as fall gives way to winter, least of all about gender equity in the workplace. But if there was any question before the World Cup that the U.S. had sent over a team that transcended sports, it was emphatically clear upon their return from France, at the ticker-tape parade through New York City's Canyon of Heroes that welcomed them home. Thousands of supporters lined the streets of lower Manhattan to share the rapturous joy of 23 women whose unalloyed pride in their accomplishment, and determination to see it shared, seemed to mark a new era.

"It was like, Wow," says Rapinoe, recalling not only the heady days after the victory but also the conversations with grateful strangers for months afterward. "We're in a movement, not a moment."

Sports tends to be thought of as an escape from the tumult of life

BEST ON EARTH

The World Cup–winning U.S. soccer team in Columbus, Ohio, on Nov. 4 (not pictured: Alex Morgan and Tierna Davidson)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAIT OPPERMANN FOR TIME

beyond the field. And there are few things more enthralling than a brilliant goal, a sudden-death shoot-out, a last-second Hail Mary. But if you look closely, our diverting games are often an engine of change in the messy world outside the arena.

That much has long been apparent to the members of the U.S. women's national team, who have historically made less and been treated worse than their male counterparts. The stories of the inequities are passed down from generation to generation on the team: the cramped travel and bug-infested hotel rooms in the '80s and '90s; the shoddy field conditions in the 2000s; and a bonus system that left the women with inferior earning opportunities, despite their superior results.

So after various efforts to resolve the pay dispute failed, the team sued their bosses for gender discrimination on March 8 of this year—International Women's Day. Before they even set foot in France, the favored U.S. women were already playing for more than a trophy.

"They could have been all about themselves," says Jennifer Klein, chief strategy and policy officer of the anti–sexual harassment organization Time's Up, which has partnered with the team's players association to promote equal pay. "Instead, they decided to shine a light on the pay gap not just for women in soccer, but for women worldwide."

Despite the pressure, the U.S. women blitzed through the stacked field with infectious bravado. Rather than an added burden, their fight for equitable pay became a rallying cry, and they turned a soccer tournament into a master class in using an athletic platform to push for social progress. Chants of "Equal pay!" filled the Parc Olympique Lyonnais after nearly 60,000 people in the stadium and more than 260 million viewers worldwide, a record audience, watched America's 2-0 victory over the Netherlands in the final.

Through it all, the team kept showing the world how to have a good time. And they allowed everyone else to share in their fun. Two days after President Donald Trump took aim at Rapinoe on Twitter for saying she would skip a White House visit if they won, she scored a pair of goals against France and marked them with a pose—arms outstretched, chin lifted in defiance—that served as its own rebuttal. When Alex Morgan headed in the go-ahead goal against England in the semifinals, she sported a grin that could have stretched across the Atlantic, and pantomimed sipping tea. And when the U.S. won it all despite it all, the players set off on a booze-drenched

victory tour that would have made a college spring-breaker blush. The message was unmissable: If you fight for something important, something bigger than yourself, and earn every scrap of it, why shouldn't you enjoy the ride?

"People always wonder, How the hell do these women act the way they do?" Rapinoe says, still relishing the triumph months later. "That's the world we live in. There's so much joy in realizing that the President of the United States can come at us, and we're like, *pfffffff,* we don't even need to respond back. There's joy in realizing your power."

GOING INTO THE WORLD CUP, many of those most connected to America's soccer apparatus—top federation officials, corporate sponsors, TV commentators—bandied about a rosy theory.

JOHN LAMPARSKI—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

UNBRIDLED JOY

The U.S. team soaks in adulation at a ticker-tape parade in New York City on July 10

This year's event would be especially popular in the U.S. because, the thinking went, Americans would be thirsting for a distraction in these divided political times. Both sides of the aisle would rally around the top-ranked U.S. team, providing the country with a necessary dose of feel-good national unity.

Any "Kumbaya" vibe, however, was torpedoed after halftime of the first match. The U.S. opened its tournament with a 13-0 destruction of overmatched Thailand. The players displayed the same kind of exuberance for goals 9 and above as they did for 1, 2 and 3. Depending on your view, this was either a sign of poor sportsmanship or a proper reaction to the fulfillment of a lifelong dream: scoring at a World Cup.

"It's someone's prerogative to be saying, 'They shouldn't be doing this,'" says U.S. forward Christen Press. "And what makes our team what it is is nobody cares."

What began as griping about the team's arrogance on sports talk radio and social media soon escalated into a full-blown political proxy fight after the clip of Rapinoe swearing off a White House visit, which had been shot earlier in the year, was released ahead of the quarterfinals. "I'm not going to the f-cking White House," she said. The following day Trump fired back, saying Rapinoe had disrespected the country, the White House and the flag.

The collision may have been inevitable. An out gay woman and vocal advocate for social justice, Rapinoe has never been shy about her feelings toward Trump—or much else. Before a 2016 game, she took a knee during the national anthem in solidarity with Colin Kaepernick. In France at the World Cup, she declined to put a hand to her heart, and stood stoic during the song. "There's no greater example of white supremacy being alive and well," Rapinoe says now, "than me standing here and getting to enjoy all this while Colin is still not playing."

In France, Rapinoe essentially laughed off the spat with the leader of the free world—signaling to her teammates the need to focus on the task at hand. "I was taking my cues from Pinoe," says teammate Becky Sauerbrunn. "She was yukking it up like her normal self. It put the team at ease."

The larger sense of purpose ended up bringing this team together. The squad included a mix of veteran leaders like co-captains Morgan, Rapinoe and Carli Lloyd, and emerging stars such as Sam Mewis, Rose Lavelle and Lindsey Horan. The age blend could make for tricky chemistry. Under coach Jill Ellis, however, the team jelled. The old hands were a model of poise. Lloyd, the star of the 2015 World Cup win, was less than thrilled with her reduced on-field role, but she stayed supportive. And the veterans stepped up as spokespeople for the equal-pay fight and other off-field issues. "That was a really strong sign of leadership," says Mewis. "It allowed players like me and Rose to just focus on playing, which was nerve-racking enough."

The bond was reinforced after each game in the tournament, when the players spent about 30 minutes together before boarding the bus. No coaches or staff were allowed. "That really helped everyone see each other eye to eye," says Morgan. "People would call out players positively, or themselves negatively. We could be vulnerable."

What they could be was themselves. And it was precisely that honest, unfiltered

and unapologetic quality that struck such a chord. The soccer insiders were right about Team USA becoming a national obsession. But they were wrong about the reason. The U.S. women didn't evoke the easy feelings of patriotism that come from waving a flag so much as embody the evolving spirit of the more perfect union that it symbolizes.

The response was overwhelming. The team's jerseys became the highest-selling soccer shirts in Nike's history. On the online retailer Fanatics, U.S. jersey sales spiked 500% over the 2015 World Cup. Global viewership of the tournament more than doubled per match, and a combined 1.12 billion viewers worldwide tuned in to coverage of the event across all platforms, a new record. On Halloween, young boys as well as girls were spotted around the country dressed up as Rapinoe and Morgan.

Most important, the team's fight for their fair share has been taken up far and wide. This fall, Australia's soccer federation reached a landmark deal with its players: total revenue generated by both the women's and men's teams will now be split equally. In Burlington, Vt., a girls' high school soccer team partnered with a local nonprofit, Change the Story, to sell athletic shirts emblazoned with #EQUALPAY.

"It's scary that these women can be the best in the world and they're still fighting for pay equality," says Maia Vota, a senior on the Burlington High School team. "I don't want to see that in my future."

The team's campaign went viral when four players received excessive-celebration yellow cards for peeling off their uniform jerseys after scoring a goal, revealing the #EQUALPAY shirts. The money raised—more than $100,000—will help broaden access to soccer for girls in underserved communities and fund women's economic-empowerment efforts in the state.

Among those who bought a shirt was Roger Ranz, the referee who issued the penalties. He says protocol required him to hand out the cards, but he fully supports the cause. "I believe in what they're doing," says Ranz. "I believe in what the U.S. women's national soccer team is trying to accomplish as well."

AFTER THEIR EPIC VICTORY LAP, the players returned in August to a less festive locale: conference rooms in New York City, for mediation talks with the governing body of American soccer. The negotiations broke down, and a trial date in the players' gender-discrimination suit is set for May of next year.

The protracted dispute has started to wear

'WE'RE IN A MOVEMENT, NOT A MOMENT . . . THERE'S JOY IN REALIZING YOUR POWER'

Megan Rapinoe,
the 2019 FIFA player of the year, who scored six World Cup goals and won the Golden Ball as the event's best player

on the team. "Everyone should be making more money," says Rapinoe. "If we didn't have to fight the federation all the time, we could actually put our collective power together with the federation. Imagine that?"

But in November, a federal judge offered the players encouragement by ruling that they can sue collectively in a class action. U.S. Soccer has maintained that its compensation practices are not discriminatory, noting that the women's team, for example, was paid more in aggregate than the men's in recent years. The judge said that line of reasoning would yield an "absurd result," as it would mean "an employer who pays a woman $10 per hour and a man $20 per hour would not violate the Equal Pay Act … as long as the woman negated the obvious disparity by working twice as many hours."

"This was a really important win for the players," says Dionne Koller, director of the Center for Sport and the Law at the University of Baltimore School of Law. "The public sees that this claim is real."

With the 2020 Olympics in July, the team must also keep its focus on the field. It's possible the U.S. will bring a team to Tokyo that's almost identical to the one that won the World Cup. Morgan, who is expecting her first child in April, plans to be there. No country has won the World Cup and Olympic gold in back-to-back years. But few are better positioned. On Dec. 2, Rapinoe won the Ballon d'Or, given to the best women's player in the world. Morgan was third. The U.S. desperately wants to avoid a repeat of the 2016 Olympics, when Sweden eliminated the Americans in the quarterfinals, their earliest exit from a major international tournament.

But no matter how the team fares, its impact on American culture is secure. Through their athletic excellence and legal persistence, the team represents a natural extension of what Title IX—the landmark legislation ensuring equal access to sports—began in 1972. "It's not enough to say, 'Let women play soccer,'" says Koller. "Now, it's 'Treat women the same.'"

The team, which made that case so dazzlingly on the field in France, welcomes the weight of legacy. "This next generation wants to be a part of something big," says Morgan. "They're not just sayers. They're doers. It's our job to continue to pave the way."

The work won't stop anytime soon. "We're here, we're coming with armies and ladders on all sides of our platform," says Rapinoe. "We want to bring people up. We're not going anywhere. And we *will* change the world." ◻

BUSINESSPERSON OF THE YEAR

Bob Iger

HOLLYWOOD'S MOST DEPENDABLE CEO IS WRITING DISNEY'S NEXT STORY

By Belinda Luscombe

NOT SINCE SOMEBODY FIGURED OUT THAT YOU COULD ATTACH two black plastic disks to a skull cap and make everyone look like Mickey Mouse has a pair of ears sent such a buzz through a media executive. The new set were green, wing-shaped and attached to a baby space alien. The instant Disney CEO Bob Iger saw them, his heart leapt.

"As soon as those ears popped up from under the blanket, and the eyes, I knew," says Iger, recalling when he first saw footage of Disney's newest bankable piece of intellectual property, known to the world as Baby Yoda. He likens the feeling to when he was running ABC's prime-time TV division and 16-year-old Leonardo DiCaprio showed up on *Growing Pains*. The next moves were obvious: start production on little green dolls and theme-park rides and lunch boxes, then throw open the vaults and clear space for more cash.

But Iger is the kind of guy who, if given the marshmallow test, would not only decline to eat the marshmallow, but persuade everyone else to sell him theirs and corner the market on S'mores. So he made a different call: no Baby Yoda merch yet. The cuddly alien was the heart of the new *Star Wars*–themed series *The Mandalorian*. That show was the anchor of Disney's new streaming service Disney+, and Iger would not spoil the first episode's big reveal.

ILLUSTRATION BY TIM O'BRIEN FOR TIME

O'BRIEN

As history will show, the auricles delivered. Disney+ signed up 10 million people by the day after its Nov. 12 launch. It is not yet a threat to the big tech companies that dominate the stream: Netflix has 158.3 million subscribers, Amazon Prime has 101 million, and Google's YouTube has about 2 billion users a month. But if streaming is the future of entertainment, Disney—the ultimate legacy player—now has a credible vessel in which to get there.

Iger's tenure as the leader of the world's most lucrative dream factory has been one long CEO highlight reel. But 2019 was an apex year, when many of his carefully incubated eggs hatched. Creativity is a messy affair, technology is an expensive, glitchy one, and business plans, like military campaigns, rarely survive the first battle. Yet in 2019, Iger managed to blend all three into one epic, deal-packed 12 months. And in a year when the tide has shifted against Big Business, Big Media and Big Tech, Iger has transformed his enormous media company into a gargantuan media and tech business while ensuring that the Walt Disney Co.'s products remain widely beloved. As other corporate chiefs face steepening criticism, the worst thing he's accused of is being a promising presidential candidate. He has rebuffed the idea. Why bother? In the post-information age, mythmakers carry more weight than lawmakers. In many ways, Iger is the Western culture's Secretary of Stories, with the power to choose what narratives are given the most resources.

"I think the Disney+ launch has been amazing," says Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg, who was on the company's board from 2010 to 2018. "It's a big risk, but Bob's really good at understanding the landscape further out as well as executing a strategy. It's rare to be able to do both."

"THIS HAS BEEN probably one of the most productive years we've had as a company in the 15 years that I've been in this job," says Iger, 68, who lives in L.A., but is in his native New York to host an East Coast board meeting. "This time last year, we had not closed the deal for Fox," he says, referring to the $71 billion acquisition of most of Rupert Murdoch's entertainment assets. "We had not opened up two Star Wars Lands, we had not launched Disney+. We had not closed the deal for control of Hulu." Iger was also not yet a best-selling author. His seven-figure earnings from his memoir, *The Ride of a Lifetime,* are going toward journalism scholarships.

Iger managed all those moving parts while still making moving pictures. Even before *Star Wars: The Rise of Skywalker* arrives, Walt Disney Studios has already released six of the eight most lucrative movies of 2019, and broken the $10 billion global box office barrier. *Avengers: Endgame* is now the highest-grossing movie of all time, selling $2.8 billion worth of tickets globally since it was released in April. Investors are thrilled; the stock is up 34% this year.

The entertainment business isn't just about money, though. When Disney generates a successful franchise, the characters and myths it creates occupy the culture to a degree that they can amplify or dampen people's understanding of who they are and what they stand for. Movies like *Black Panther* and *Frozen* take up so much of the national attention span that the communities and identities those films portray become less other, more central.

Of course, not everyone celebrates Iger's choices. Many bemoan Disney's blanding effect on the culture—including director Martin Scorsese, who in November wrote in an excoriating New York *Times* op-ed that movies from Disney's Marvel studio lacked "revelation, mystery or genuine emotional danger." He claimed that the focus on franchises—a key Iger strategy—was contributing to a situation that "was brutal and inhospitable to art."

Iger, famous for his Mandalorian-like imperturbability, calls Scorsese's comments "nasty" and "not fair to the people who are making the movies," but brushes them off. "If Marty Scorsese wants to be in the business of taking artistic risk, all power to him," he says. "It doesn't mean that what we're doing isn't art." In true Hollywood fashion, Iger says his people and Marty's people are arranging a get-together.

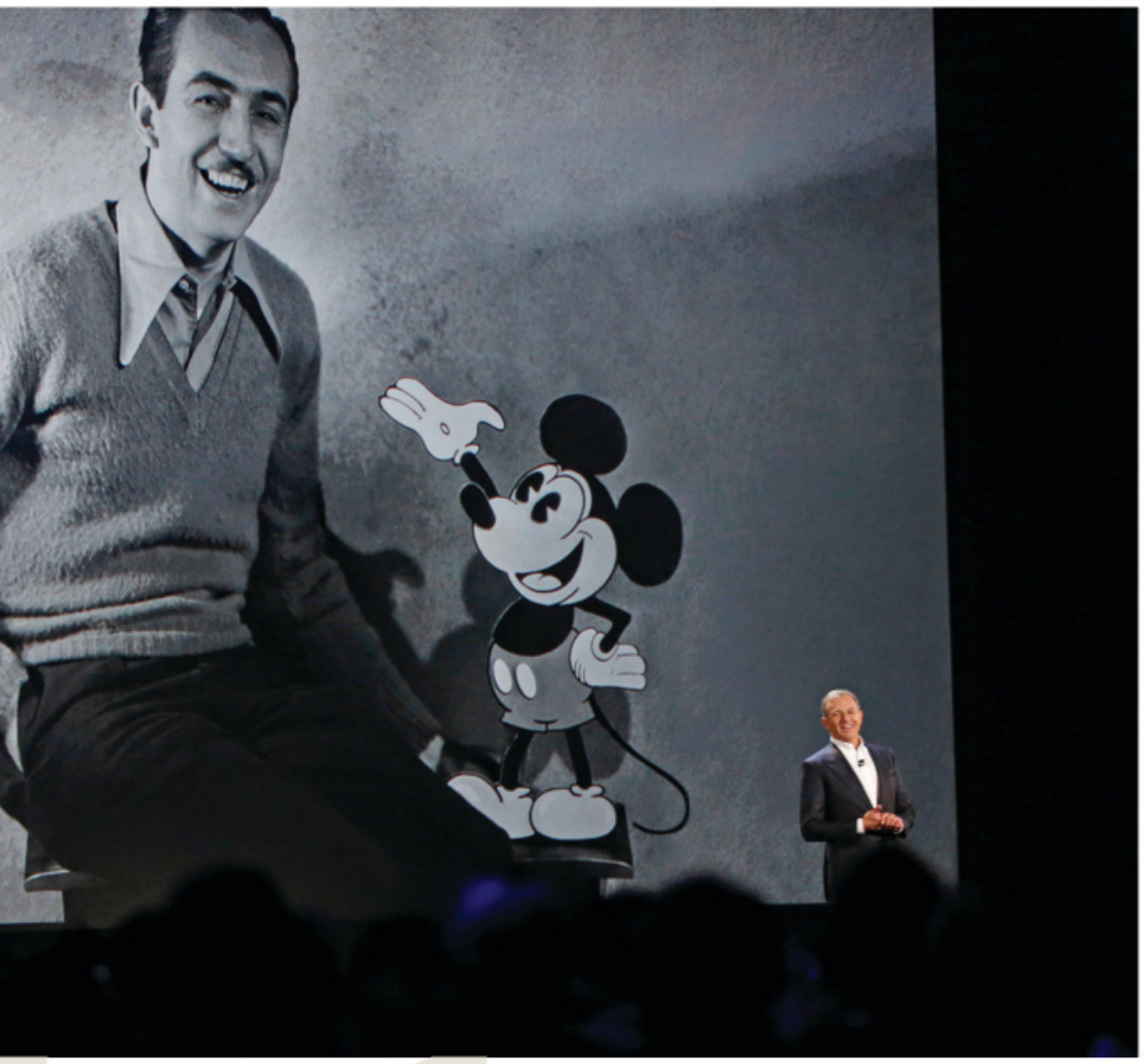
Whenever he's accused of taking no risks, Iger points to *Black Panther,* which he considers one of his top five career achievements. "I expected Bob's [advice] to be more conservative, but it was actually the opposite," says *Panther* director Ryan Coogler. "He wanted us to be more aggressive and ambitious." Iger encouraged him to build out the theme of transgenerational trauma as it relates to race. "He wasn't afraid from a cultural standpoint or a business standpoint."

Nearly every story about Iger's tenure at Disney contains a variant of the sentence *This is his biggest gamble yet.* In 2006, he made a $7.4 billion deal to buy Pixar from a guy who hated Disney. Then he bought Marvel, a company built on the mercurial fantasies of adolescent males, then Lucasfilm, when the *Star Wars* stories seemed burned out. And this March, he persuaded the mulish Murdoch to sell him nearly all his marshmallows too.

Disney+, however, makes those other bets look penny-ante. Iger had slowly and somewhat

CREATURE CURATOR

Like Walt Disney, in whose shadow he stands, Iger loves a good character



‘HE WASN’T AFRAID FROM A CULTURAL STANDPOINT OR A BUSINESS STANDPOINT’

Ryan Coogler,
Black Panther director

stealthily bought BAMTech, the company Major League Baseball used to stream games, which provided the technological back end. But he knew the only way to bring people to a new streaming service is with shows they can’t miss. “There was a meeting. In the Disney boardroom,” says Iger, whose way of telling stories is as consistent and methodical as his schedule. Heads of the company’s creative shops were told to come with pitches for the new service. “I said, ‘We’re not creating another separate studio. You will all be the suppliers. No. 1 priority.’”

Of all the suggestions he heard that day, it soon emerged that only *The Mandalorian* would make it in time. It—and by extension Baby Yoda—would have to carry the whole launch. Iger was right to keep that black-eyed sweet pea a secret, because the culture wasn’t going to wait until gift season. The Internet was swiftly flooded with Baby Yoda–bilia, including knitted hats, baby items, love songs, DIY Christmas ornaments and, of course, memes. So many memes. Iger sent friends his favorite, a mash-up of cosmological narratives featuring the Pope holding Baby Yoda like a communion wafer.

IN SOME CIRCLES, Iger is considered only marginally less alien than the creature he greenlighted. He has worked for the same company for 45 years, through 20 jobs and 14 bosses, outlasting scores of rivals, apparently without making any major enemies. “You will never hear, ‘Bob Iger, he’s such a son of a bitch,’” Gayle King—not even on his payroll!—said last year. When he finally got a shot at the top spot, however, there were doubts; the interview process was so long and humiliating he ended up at the doctor’s office with an anxiety attack. The $65.6 million he earned last year seems to have eased but not erased the memory.

Of course, Iger may have bet wrong. Disney has already spent $3 billion on the service and plans to spend billions more on a venture that may never turn a cent. The *Star Wars* and *Avengers* narratives are reaching their outer atmospheres. Hong Kong Disneyland is almost empty amid the ongoing protests. And he has still not named a successor.

But for now, for just this moment, Iger is unassailable. He’s transformed his company from a stuffy media doyen into a sexy cultural force. He can glide to retirement in 2021 on the fumes of that triumph. Except it’s not his style. When asked which IP he would buy if in some fantasy world he could: Harry Potter, Gandalf or James Bond, Iger smiles. “We’re not looking to buy anything right now,” he says. “But I’ve always been a huge James Bond fan.” ◻

LI YING—XINHUA/SIPA

ENTERTAINER OF THE YEAR

Lizzo

POP'S QUEEN OF SELF-LOVE CHANGED HOW WE SEE OURSELVES

By Samantha Irby

SURELY, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 2019, YOU KNOW WHO LIZZO is. I mean, even if you don't think you know, girl—*you know.* Her song is in that Walmart commercial with the dancing cart people, and another one is in an ad for GrubHub, and I swear I was watching a football pregame show and heard strains of the piano riff from her song "Good as Hell" twinkling in the background. She's on the soundtrack at your Zumba class, her voice is blaring from the headphones of the guy across from you on the train, and your daughter is locked in her bedroom scream-singing, "I just took a DNA test/ Turns out I'm 100% that bitch," from Lizzo's No. 1 hit, "Truth Hurts," in her mirror right now.

But right *now,* Lizzo, 31, is with me—literally—tucked away in a studio on a dead-end street on a warm December afternoon in Dallas. I didn't get dressed up, because what does a regular person wear to meet Lizzo? I don't own any diamond-encrusted booty shorts or full-length feather coats. Is it even legal to introduce yourself to Lizzo while wearing yoga pants you bought two years ago at Kohl's? She, meanwhile, is head to toe in Gucci, hair laid and lips glossed, flanked on either side by her gorgeous glam team. Lizzo is everything you want her to be: loud, fun, effervescent, all the synonyms you can use for the words *loud, fun* and *effervescent.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLA KUDACKI FOR TIME

And I want to know everything: Can she still run to the store in her pajamas to buy groceries? (No, but she's always had them delivered, even pre-fame.) Can she walk through an airport without a dozen giddy wine moms throwing themselves in her path while shouting her lyrics at her? (She travels with security now. People can be weird.) Also: How do you ask someone, Why them, or Why now, without making them want to punch you?

But I have to ask: Why was this the year—after nearly a decade on the road, performing shows for next to nothing, living in your car, being your own hype man—that you racked up more Grammy nominations than any other artist? "I've been doing positive music for a long-ass time," she says. "Then the culture changed. There were a lot of things that weren't popular but existed, like body positivity, which at first was a form of protest for fat bodies and black women and has now become a trendy, commercialized thing. Now I've seen it reach the mainstream. Suddenly I'm mainstream!" She laughs. "How could we have guessed something like this would happen when we've never seen anything like this before?"

She's right. Lizzo does represent something new. Her sound is relentlessly positive and impossibly catchy: bangers that synthesize pop, rap and R&B, with hooks so sharp it feels like they've been in your brain forever. Her lyrics are funny, bawdy and vulnerable: reminders to dump whatever idiot is holding you back and become your own biggest fan. (Even the viral four-second clip of her in a rainbow dress saying, "Bye, bitch!" and cackling as she rides away on the back of a cart is superior to many artists' entire musical output this year.) Attending a Lizzo concert feels like worshipping at the church of self-love, if your preacher was a pop star living joyfully in a big black body, delivering a sermon of self-acceptance that's as frank as it is accessible. At a time when Instagrammers are shilling flat-tummy tea or pretending to eat a giant cheeseburger, Lizzo sells something more radical: the idea that you are already enough.

That is particularly appealing this year, with the Internet a scary toilet, measles somehow making a comeback, and everyone just memeing themselves through it because no one can afford to go to therapy. In 2019, Lizzo was a beam of light shining through doom and gloom, telling us to love ourselves even if the world doesn't always love us back. We needed her.

"WHO IS that glamorous fat bitch?" It was summer 2014, and my homegirl and I were squinting at the shattered screen of a busted iPhone in an empty grocery-store parking lot like two losers. She'd pulled up one of Lizzo's music videos, knowing that keeping up with new music is hard when you're not a Cool Teen. We tried to block the glare from the lunch-break o'clock sun as we watched this babe with bejeweled nails dancing with a shirtless dude in the desert while rapping. "Minuscule to me, I'm a big deal to you; I picketh thee off, like a bug betwixt my shoe." I paused the video, my jaw against my chest. "Did she just say *betwixt*?" I'm in!

In 1989, when I was young and outcast and looking for even a shred of representation to make me feel less weird and alone, my options for fat-black-lady role models were Nell Carter, Marsha Warfield, and Shirley Hemphill from *What's Happening!!* Imagine the kind of adults who are going to grow out of kids with access to Lizzo. Now that she's a megastar, everything she does is news—especially her tendency to post nude photos, which she does frequently and with great enthusiasm. "I think it's healthy to have a relationship with your naked body, even if no one ever sees it," she says. "But I've always felt the need to share it."

Seeing her body as I'm casually scrolling through Instagram is like a shot of emotional adrenaline. Open my largest vein and pump that photo of her naked in a bathtub filled with Skittles directly into it. It feels revolutionary, even now, to watch a fat woman love herself so openly. We've been conditioned to expect the "good fatty"—the "Excuse me, I'm so sorry, look at me eating a salad!" kind of fat girl who feels like she has to perform some sort of disordered eating to get love, let alone fame. Lizzo loves her back rolls and doesn't care whether you do too. (Though you should!)

While it may feel like Lizzo is suddenly everywhere, she's actually been grinding for over a decade. Born Melissa Jefferson in Detroit, she's a classically trained flutist (instead of becoming a quiet first chair of the Minneapolis orchestra, she plays the flute onstage in a bodysuit while hitting the shoot) and rapper (plus singer!). Growing up, she says, she was always called "different." "And *different* was not a compliment back then." (Lizzo is a combination of an early nickname, Lissa, and Jay-Z's song "Izzo.") As a young artist in Houston, where she moved when she was 10, she recorded and performed constantly—Lizzo was in an electrosoul duo called Lizzo & the Larva Ink and then an all-female rap group, the Chalice, which appeared on a 2014 Prince song. Her road here has been long. Lizzo has toured as a solo artist since 2013

GOOD AS HELL

Lizzo performs with her dancers in London on Nov. 6

‘I THINK IT’S HEALTHY TO HAVE A RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR NAKED BODY’

Lizzo

and been signed with Atlantic since 2016.

Then, this spring, her self-empowerment anthem “Truth Hurts,” originally released in 2017, appeared in the popular Netflix movie *Someone Great* and went on to top the *Billboard* Hot 100. She performed in front of a giant inflatable butt at the Video Music Awards and carried a tiny Valentino purse down the red carpet at the American Music Awards, spawning a million memes. Her third album, *Cuz I Love You,* earned her eight Grammy nominations. Each moment helped cement her as the defining entertainer of this year. It also made her a bigger target. “I have to bite my tongue on certain things,” she says. “When people challenge my talent, they challenge whether I deserve to be here. They challenge my blackness. I’m like, ‘Oh! I can easily just let your ass know right now in 132 characters why you’re f-cking wrong.’ ”

IN GENERAL, I reject positivity. I’m a lifelong pessimist whose Spotify playlists are all called, like, “Songs to Cry To” and “Life Is the Pits.” And yet even I, a hard-hearted monster, have found it hard to resist Lizzo’s aural sunshine.

Part of what makes Lizzo so relatable—and so important—is that even as she preaches self-empowerment, she’s candid about the struggle. This year wasn’t easy for her. “From March to … now!” She laughs. “I was experiencing a little bit of unhappiness. I was not happy with the way I felt to my body. I didn’t feel sexy, and I didn’t know when it was going to end. There were times when I would go onstage and be like, ‘Y’all, I’m not going to lie. I’m not feeling myself.’ Sometimes I’d break down and cry. Sometimes the audience would just cheer to make me feel better. I was getting sick a lot. I was like, What the f-ck is going on? I need to fall back in love with my body.” She’s working on this, along with the newfound pressures of celebrity, in therapy. “I didn’t want to be famous,” she says. “I wanted to be like Brandon Boyd from Incubus! I just want to go to the farmers’ market.”

It’s a good reminder: omnipresent as she may be, Lizzo is just a person who feels like garbage sometimes and lives on the same actively dying rock hurtling through space as the rest of us. She’s not a walking inspirational infographic. She knows that part of being enough means acknowledging your imperfections. Which is why it’s such a relief to know that she gets down sometimes—because I know when she gets back up she’s going to bring us with her. Bye, bitch!

Irby is a best-selling author and essayist; her next book, Wow, No Thank You, *will be released on March 31*

PORTRAITS OF INFLUENCE

Six leaders who shaped the world in 2019

XI JINPING

President of China

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL

ON OCT. 1, A PARADE OF TANKS, TROOPS AND NUCLEAR MISSILES rolled through Beijing to mark 70 years since the founding of the People's Republic. Standing before the Forbidden City, abode of emperors, China's Xi Jinping vowed, "No force can stop the Chinese people and the Chinese nation forging ahead."

Quite a few have tried this year. Nearly 2 million took to the streets to demand democratic reform in semiautonomous Hong Kong, where anti-Beijing candidates won a landslide in district elections. The trade war with the U.S. squeezed China's growth to a three-decade low. The detention of over a million Muslims in the province of Xinjiang prompted condemnation by the U.N.

None have dented Xi's resolve. Through propaganda and censorship, the Communist Party he leads has helped Xi turn external pressure into internal strength. His "China Dream" of returning his nation to "center stage" is battered but undiminished.

Still, there's no denying that the tenor of China's foreign relations changed in 2019. This was the year Xi went from strongman to bogeyman. In March, the E.U. branded China a "systemic rival." In July, FBI Director Christopher Wray called the threat to society posed by China "diverse and wide and vexing." Washington has demonized Chinese telecom firm Huawei and passed legislation in support of Hong Kong's protesters. A bill still under consideration would sanction Chinese officials for "barbaric" human-rights abuses in Xinjiang, where 1 million Muslims have been detained.

And yet, Muslim leaders from Pakistan's Imran Khan to Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman court Chinese investment. In November, Xi sipped wine with French President Emmanuel Macron in Shanghai before signing $15 billion worth of bilateral deals. And Taylor Swift opened Alibaba's extravaganza for Singles Day, where $38 billion was spent.

The missiles and tanks were real enough. But Xi's power, and fate, remains with what stands behind him: the capitalist might of communist China.

ILLUSTRATION BY NIGEL BUCHANAN FOR TIME

DONALD TRUMP

President of the United States

BY BRIAN BENNETT

IN HIS THIRD YEAR AS PRESIDENT, DONALD J. TRUMP PHYSICALLY walked into North Korea. He declared a national emergency for the U.S. border with Mexico. He recognized the disputed Golan Heights as a sovereign part of Israel. For any previous residents of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, one of these developments—unprecedented and historic—might have defined their presidency. For the 45th, they amounted to bullet points.

As America's least orthodox Chief Executive rounds the corner into an election year, he is polishing his list of achievements. Trump has used the power of his office to roll back regulations, drive through a corporate tax cut and boost military spending. He takes credit for supercharging an economy that's driven unemployment to record lows. He has also continued an uncharacteristically disciplined effort to reshape America's federal courts, using Republican control of the Senate to appoint conservative judges who will define the laws of the land for a generation.

And yet the Trump presidency may well pivot on his forays into a world that typically interests him the way a shop window does—in passing and for his reflection in it. The year began, after all, in suspense over special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russia's actions to help Trump's 2016 campaign. The dense final report was, in its detail, damning: Mueller presented at least 10 times the President may have attempted to obstruct the probe, a criminal offense. But Trump claimed "complete exoneration" on the marquee allegation, that he had sought assistance from a foreign power on his effort to win election. And then, the day after Mueller testified on Capitol Hill, Trump telephoned the leader of another foreign country, Ukraine, and sought assistance on his effort to win re-election by investigating Democratic rival Joe Biden and his son. Thus did the year draw to a close with the U.S. House of Representatives preparing articles of impeachment that, even if voted down in the Senate, will define Trump in history. The question is: Will that matter in the realms the incumbent values most? There is still no person whom taxi drivers, news anchors, hairstylists, foreign leaders and voters talk about more. And for Trump, that may be enough.

ILLUSTRATION BY GRZEGORZ DOMARADZKI FOR TIME

NANCY PELOSI

Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

BY MOLLY BALL

THE TEMPERATURE IN WASHINGTON CHANGED ON JAN. 3 WHEN Nancy Pelosi picked up the gavel and became Speaker of the House for a second time. President Donald Trump has yet to recover.

For two years, Trump had benefited from a subservient Republican Congress. Pelosi quickly made clear that divided government would be a different story. Taking the reins in the midst of the longest government shutdown in history, she refused to cave to Trump's demand for a border wall, waiting him out—and canceling the State of the Union address—until he surrendered. Over the ensuing months, she served as the unorthodox President's foil, using her mastery of the powers of the Legislative Branch to hold Trump in check.

For much of the year, Pelosi battled the left nearly as much as the right, frustrating progressive activists and far-left members by steering her party toward the center. Even as she's overseen an unprecedented slate of investigations into the Executive Branch, she's tried to find ways to work with Trump where possible. At the White House's request, Pelosi passed a $4.6 billion border bill with funding for the immigration detention centers the left considers concentration camps, and later negotiated a two-year budget agreement that increases military funding. She's kept trying to make deals with Trump on prescription-drug pricing and infrastructure, even as the President has repeatedly walked away from the table. Of the more than 300 bills the House has passed that sit on the Senate's doorstep, more than 275 are bipartisan.

On Dec. 10, Pelosi announced the House's articles of impeachment of Trump. An hour later, she unveiled an agreement on the President's plan to update the North American Free Trade Agreement. The split screen epitomized her yearlong high-wire act. Pelosi resisted Democrats' calls for impeachment until the Ukraine scandal forced her hand. As the year ends, the results-oriented leader finds herself in just the situation she'd tried to avoid: a partisan impeachment of a President unlikely to be chastened by it. The founders' vision for checks and balances has forced her into a historic confrontation, with unforeseeable consequences. "If we had not done this," she tells TIME, "just think of how low our democracy would have sunk."

ILLUSTRATION BY MERCEDES DEBELLARD FOR TIME

NARENDRA MODI

Prime Minister of India

BY BILLY PERRIGO

FOR DECADES AFTER THE BRITISH DEPARTED THE INDIAN subcontinent, its history was one of painful cleavings. The 1947 Partition is a bland label for a division that produced two countries, 15 million refugees and at least a million deaths. When Pakistan, founded as a Muslim homeland opposite a secular India, itself split in two, the war that created Bangladesh in 1971 undid the assumption that a common faith alone could bind a nation. But in 2019, Narendra Modi began his second term in office having revived the premise in India.

In May, Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won a months-long election in a landslide that established Modi as the most powerful Prime Minister in more than a generation. But as Modi has consolidated power, India's Muslims—who make up 14% of the country's population—are questioning whether they count as Indian anymore. The BJP exalts Hindu nationalism, the identity politics of a religious majority that has been emergent for decades but for which Modi's unprecedented majority marks a historical high watermark.

When the Dalai Lama spoke with TIME in the Himalayan foothills where he lives in exile from Tibet, he repeatedly praised India's tradition of multifaith harmony. The country's 1.3 billion people include not only Hindus and Muslims, but also Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. But Modi has abandoned that tradition, becoming instead a hero to Hindu extremists. In August, the Prime Minister revoked the constitutional autonomy of Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state, imposing a curfew and imprisoning political leaders. His government is pushing through new measures that could make it easier to imprison and deport Muslims who cannot prove their Indian citizenship, even if they have lived in the country for generations.

Abroad, however, Modi retains the image etched early in his first term, of a populist economic reformer toting a yoga mat. In September a crowd of some 50,000 attended a "Howdy Modi" rally in Houston, with President Trump in the front row. But India's renown as the world's largest, most vibrant democracy is being tested by Modi's divisive politics. Now, with an enormous mandate, he can govern almost as he pleases.

ILLUSTRATION BY TRACIE CHING FOR TIME

JACINDA ARDERN

Prime Minister of New Zealand

BY DAN STEWART

THE GESTURE WAS SIMPLE, BUT THE EFFECT WAS PROFOUND. LESS than 24 hours after a far-right extremist massacred 50 worshippers in two Christchurch mosques in March, New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern put on a black hijab to meet members of the Muslim community, hear their fears and share in their grief. In one photograph of the encounter, the young leader's brow is lightly creased and her mouth turned down, an uncanny expression of empathy mixed with strength. The obscenity of the slaughters has been compounded by being livestreamed. But here was a still frame that, as it spread beyond the heartbroken island nation, would endure as an emblem of compassion, tolerance and resolve.

When Ardern took power in October 2017 at the age of 37, it was as the world's youngest female leader. She advanced a range of progressive policies, with a particular focus on the environment. Under Ardern, New Zealand's government banned single-use plastic bags, planted 140 million trees and passed a bill to set a net-zero target for CO_2 emissions by 2050. She also extended paid parental leave and took six weeks off herself after giving birth while in office—a rare example of a head of state taking parental leave of any length.

Yet it was in her response to tragedy that Ardern emerged as an icon. The purpose of terrorism is to scare and divide. And so the Prime Minister reassured and united. She immediately made herself available to her fellow citizens, particularly those who felt most vulnerable. She kept attention focused on the affected by refusing to utter the killer's name. And she channeled the grief and rage of her country into meaningful change, pushing through reforms of gun laws only days after the attack.

New Zealand votes again in 2020, and despite Ardern's popularity her party is trailing in the polls. While she remains in power, she is intent on using it against the scourge of far-right extremism, urging fellow heads of state to join the Christchurch Call, a pledge to work together to stem terrorist content online. But whatever the election brings, the world has seen what leadership looks like.

ILLUSTRATION BY VIKTORIA SAVENKOVA FOR TIME

EMMANUEL MACRON

President of France

BY VIVIENNE WALT

WHEN EMMANUEL MACRON WAS ELECTED IN MAY 2017, HE strode into his victory celebration not to the sounds of "La Marseillaise" but to Beethoven's "Ode to Joy," the anthem of the European Union. Now, halfway through his five-year term, the French President has finally emerged as the de facto leader of the Continent.

With German Chancellor Angela Merkel drifting toward retirement, and Britain searching desperately for Brexit, the French leader has seized on seemingly every simmering transnational issue as though he were an indispensable part of its solution: climate, global trade, Iran sanctions, Russian aggression and China's superpower rivalry.

A theater actor in his high school days, this year Macron has cast himself as a global decisionmaker. In November, he bluntly pronounced NATO dysfunctionally "brain dead," again suggesting that the E.U. needs its own military alliance. In Beijing that same month, he reviewed Chinese troops with President Xi Jinping and sealed trade and climate deals, rendering the E.U.'s new trade commissioner a bit player.

Feeling empowered in Europe, Macron also seems to be done with courting President Donald Trump. During a joint press appearance in London on Dec. 2, Macron turned the tables on his U.S. counterpart, cutting short an offhand comment about ISIS fighters. "Let's be serious," Macron snapped, with a hint of exasperation that left Trump uncharacteristically flustered.

At home, however, Macron faces enduring fury. Having struggled through the violent protests of the Yellow Vest revolt of 2018, he is back to his reform agenda, vowing to end sweetheart pension deals that France can no longer afford. He was rewarded with the biggest national strikes in many years in December, and a full-blown resurgence of the Yellow Vests may be on the horizon. Among the hundreds of thousands of strikers who poured into the streets, some of them chanted "*Macron dégage!*" or "Macron out!"

Voters will get their chance to make that a reality in 2022. Until then, France's President will be busy cementing the role he always saw for himself—at the helm of Europe.

ILLUSTRATION BY SHANA LEVENSON FOR TIME

AN ICON BURNS

Paris was in flames months before the April 15 blaze at Notre Dame. Protesters enraged over President Emmanuel Macron's economic plans had smashed storefronts and vandalized ATMs. But the smoke that filled the sky that day seemed to give the beleaguered city a sense of unity. Soon, another battle took hold: How to rebuild?

PHOTOGRAPH BY VERONIQUE DE VIGUERIE—GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOS OF THE YEAR

FROM DEFIANCE IN HONG KONG TO CELEBRATION IN D.C., SEVEN DEFINING IMAGES OF 2019

To see the complete collection of TIME's 100 Photos of the Year, go to TIME.com/2019-photos

A GENERATION ROARS

Carrie Lam's proposal to allow extraditions from Hong Kong to mainland China had barely been announced before the territory's leader felt the heat of a frustrated generation. Hundreds of thousands of protesters filled the streets—like these on June 10—then did it the next week, and then the next. At one point they numbered 2 million. The extradition bill did die, but it was too late to stop what it had started: Hong Kong had been transformed, and a new normal had arrived.

PHOTOGRAPH BY LAM YIK FEI—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

AFTER THE WIND

When Hurricane Dorian tore into the Bahamas in September, it settled in. Forecasters watched as the Category 5 storm hovered for days over Grand Bahama, with its winds reaching 185 m.p.h. and a storm surge 25 ft. high. Coffins, like this one at a cemetery in McLean's Town, were lifted out of the earth. The damage left behind was staggering, estimated at some $3.4 billion.

PHOTOGRAPH BY RAMON ESPINOSA—AP

AN EMBRACE RESONATES

Waves of migrants tried to cross the U.S.-Mexico border in 2019, often described as part of faceless caravans flowing from Central America. This intimate scene shows who many of them are. José, 27, and his 6-year-old son, José Daniel, spent weeks trekking from Guatemala to the border, where they crossed into El Paso, Texas, on May 16.

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL RATJE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A COMEBACK FOR THE AGES

Not since 1924, when Calvin Coolidge was in the White House, had a baseball team in America's capital won the World Series. But on Oct. 30, with a 6-2 victory over the Houston Astros in Game 7, the Washington Nationals did. The Commissioner's Trophy, hoisted that night, mostly withstood the resulting celebration in the victors' clubhouse.

PHOTOGRAPH BY DINA LITOVSKY—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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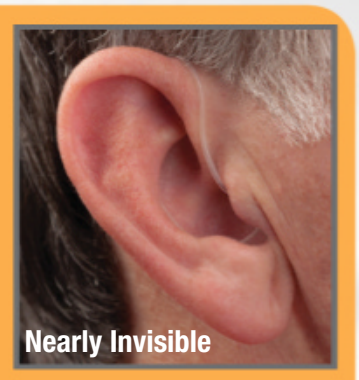

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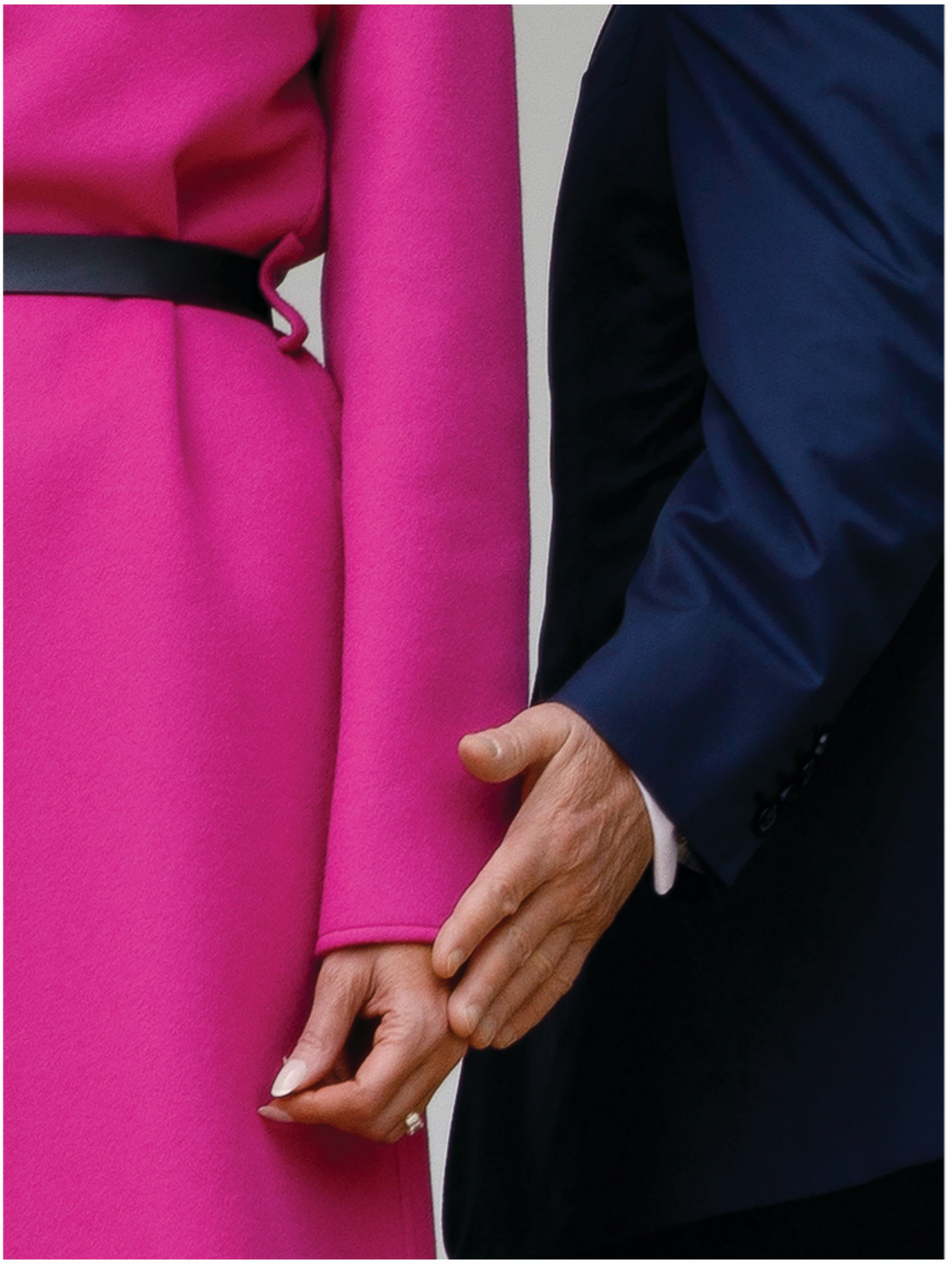

BY HIS SIDE

First Lady Melania Trump weathered a tumultuous year for the White House by the side of her husband, as she was in this image on April 11. As the President faces potential impeachment and removal from office, she remains a source of stability.

PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM BRENNER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

A SYMBOL RISES, A DESPOT FALLS

For months, protesters had been marching in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum, calling for the ouster of their leader of three decades, Omar al-Bashir. Three days after activist Alaa Salah, 22, was photographed on April 8 speaking atop a car, al-Bashir was gone. A new generation of Sudanese was heard.

PHOTOGRAPH BY LANA H. HAROUN

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BEHIND THE SCENES

The making of the 2019 Person of the Year issue

After sailing back to Europe, Greta Thunberg rested for a day, then returned to the sea for the TIME cover shoot on Dec. 4. Photographer **Evgenia Arbugaeva,** *who grew up in the Russian Arctic, scouted Lisbon for two days before choosing a rocky beach near the city. "It seemed that the day of the shoot on the beach was the last quiet moment for Greta," Arbugaeva says. The next day, both boarded the night train to Madrid, the U.N. climate conference and a crowd of tens of thousands.*

THIS PAGE: SUYIN HAYNES; OPPOSITE PAGE, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: EVGENIA ARBUGAEVA; PAUL MOAKLEY; JULIA LULL; MAXIM ARBUGAEV; CHARLOTTE ALTER

ACROSS THE POND

Clockwise from top left: Evgenia's brother, **Maxim Arbugaev,** the cinematographer who made a video version of the cover, serves as a stand-in before Thunberg's arrival; in the newsroom bunker where the issue was discreetly assembled, senior editor **Haley Sweetland Edwards** works with national correspondent **Charlotte Alter,** right; a drone's view of *La Vagabonde* departing Hampton, Va., on Nov. 13; Evgenia and London-based correspondent **Suyin Haynes** after the night train (Haynes, right, spent five days with Thunberg and her family in April); in Virginia, climate correspondent **Justin Worland** and Alter interview the young activist on board

THE U.S. WOMEN'S SOCCER TEAM

Photographer **Cait Oppermann** is such a fan of the U.S. women's soccer team that she has a tattoo on her wrist inspired by their World Cup wins. The squad photo was taken on Nov. 4 at a vintage vault in Columbus, Ohio, where the team was training. The former bank, now an event space, still functioned as an allusion to the team's fight for equal pay.

THE PUBLIC SERVANTS

Chicago-based artist **Jason Seiler,** who did character design on Tim Burton's *Alice in Wonderland,* spent more than 50 hours drawing on a Wacom Cintiq, an interactive LCD screen, to bring together prominent witnesses from the House Intelligence Committee impeachment hearings. "I am aware that it looks photo real," he says, "but when viewed up close, it's actually painterly."

BOB IGER

Neither the Disney chairman and CEO nor **Peter Hapak** is a stranger to TIME. Iger has been covered in at least a half-dozen features since 2007, and the Hungary-born photographer is a mainstay. Here, Hapak retouches images from the shoot at the New York City studios of ABC Television, a Disney company.

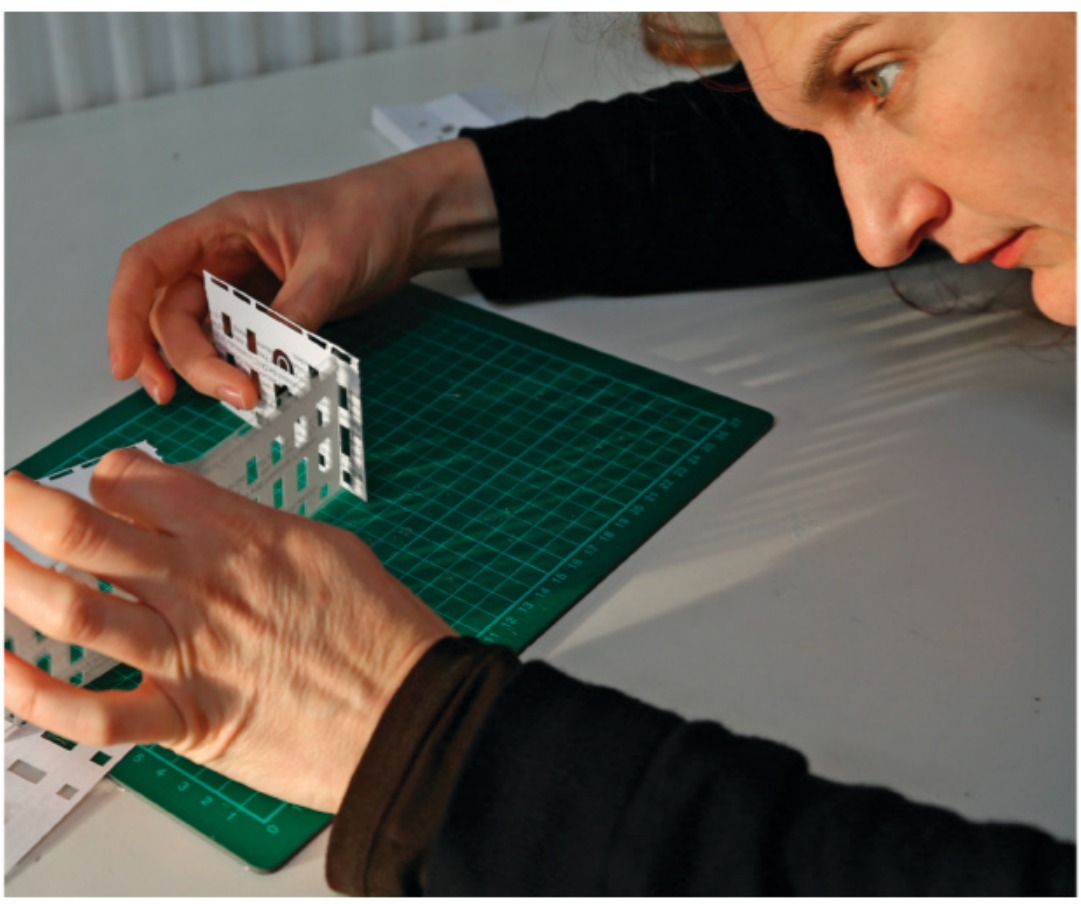
LIZZO

Photographer **Paola Kudacki,** who shot the covers for the 2014 TIME 100, says of TIME's Entertainer of the Year, "She trusted my vision, which enabled us to work freely, to have fun and explore on set." Lizzo left the shoot exclaiming, "Call me!" to everyone in the room and made her way to the 106.1 KISS FM Jingle Ball in Fort Worth, where she performed that night.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: PAUL MOAKLEY; COURTESY OF JASON SEILER; THEA TRAFF; SARA JOLAN HAPAK

WHISTLE-BLOWER

U.K.-based paper-sculpture artist **Su Blackwell** spent four days handcrafting the artwork that opens our story. With a surgeon's scalpel blade, precision tweezers, a cutting mat and glue, the White House was fashioned entirely from the whistle-blower's transcript. "My intention," says Blackwell, who has exhibited worldwide, "was to portray the subject's fragility, expressed by the translucent quality of the A4 copy paper."

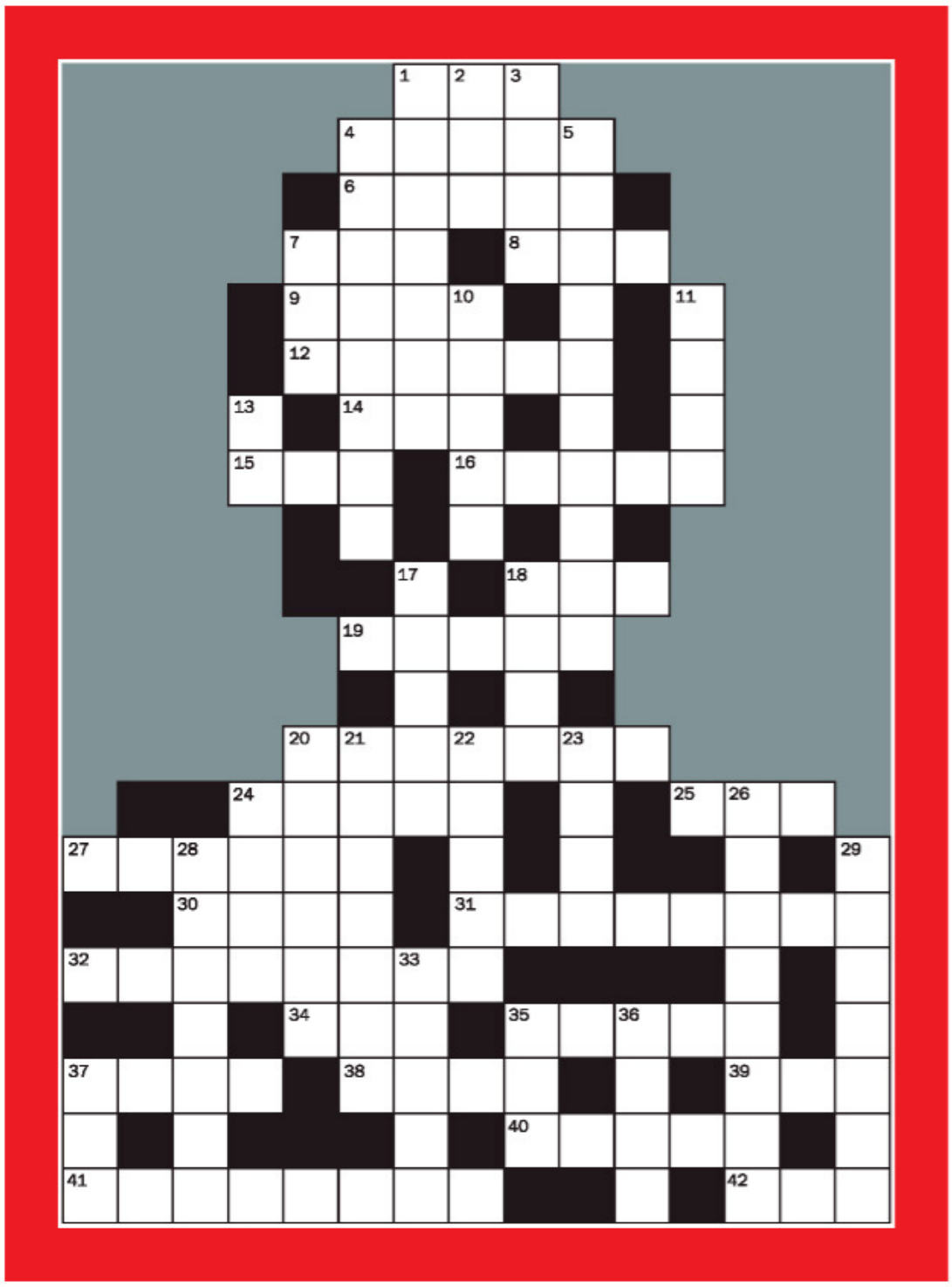


JOHN REYNOLDS (3)

By Emily Barone

ACROSS

1. First 24-hour news channel, launched by **Ted Turner**
4. Like much of the heartland inhabited by **The Middle Americans**
6. Do what **Owen D. Young** did to some of Germany's Great War reparations debt
7. Law, like the one establishing Social Security that **Franklin D. Roosevelt** signed
8. 81, for the oldest individual Person of the Year, **Deng Xiaoping**
9. A form of aid **George Marshall** offered to Western Europe after World War II
12. Groups like the **Apollo 8** crew
14. Genetic molecule analyzed by some **U.S. Scientists**
15. French honorific for **Chiang Kai-shek**'s wife **Soong Mei-ling,** briefly
16. Market event during **Ben Bernanke**'s Fed tenure
18. Political affiliation of POTUS **Ronald Reagan**
19. **Rudy Giuliani**'s title on 9/11
20. Come before, as Gerald Ford's time in the White House did vis à vis **Jimmy Carter**'s
24. Chamber of Congress that impeached **Bill Clinton**
25. Like deserts, or fuel tanks during the embargo led by Saudi Arabia's **King Faisal**



27. Some **Donald Trump** properties
30. Periods defined by **Mikhail Gorbachev** (Person of the Decade) and **Albert Einstein** (Person of the Century)
31. **Lyndon Johnson**'s wife
32. Territories, like India during **Mahatma Gandhi**'s lifetime
34. **George H.W. Bush** to **George W. Bush**
35. **Corazon Aquino,** a first for Philippine Presidents
37. Sudden surge, like that of the movements embodied by **The Protester**
38. Number of years **Ruhollah Khomeini** was Supreme Leader of Iran
39. It's disappearing from the **Endangered Earth**
40. **Barack Obama**'s Veep
41. Expertise of **Popes John XXIII, John Paul II** and **Francis**
42. **Mohammed Mossadegh** nationalized Iran's oil and ___ industry

DOWN

1. **Nikita Khrushchev** upheld the Iron ___
2. Initials of a New Deal initiative run by **Hugh Johnson**
3. Agency that **JFK** tasked to win the space race
4. Like **Richard Nixon**'s White House conversations
5. Former profession of **Newt Gingrich**
7. Key on **The Computer**
10. Org. that gave **Martin Luther King Jr.** its highest honor
11. Like Amazon CEO **Jeff Bezos,** when it comes to wealth
13. **Harlow Curtice**'s car company, for short
17. Catchall for Olympic events staged by **Peter Ueberroth**
18. **George W. Bush**'s rival Al ___
20. Country invaded by **Joseph Stalin** and **Adolf Hitler**
21. **Vladimir Putin**'s nationality
22. Rooms occupied by **Nelson Mandela** for 27 years
23. **The Good Samaritans,** in trying to alleviate poverty, set an example of a good one
24. **Dwight D. Eisenhower** during World War II, for example
26. Wearing the crown, à la **Elizabeth II**
28. **Anwar Sadat** flew here to attend Egypt-Israel talks in Jerusalem
29. **Charles de Gaulle**'s "L'Appel du 18 juin" or **Winston Churchill**'s "Their Finest Hour"
33. **Judge John Sirica**'s order to turn Watergate tapes over to prosecutors
35. **You** were named Person of the Year for putting content here
36. Built, as **Walter Chrysler**'s company did Plymouths
37. Edward VIII abdicated the throne to ___ **Wallis Simpson**

*Visit **time.com/crossword-solution** for puzzle answers*

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